NANĀ ON LION

A STUDY IN KUSHĀṆA NUMISMATIC ART

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"The lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses, directress of mankind, mistress of the spirits of heaven, possessor of sovereign power; the light of heaven and earth, daughter of the Moon God, ruler of weapons, arbitress of battles; goddess of love; the power over princes and over the sceptre of kings."

(From the epigraphic material found in the temple of Marduk, Babylon)

PREFACE

The scope of the present monograph is fully discussed in Chapter I. We shall confine ourselves here to some general remarks.

In spelling of proper names, we have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. For example, the name of the son of the Kushāṇa king Kujula is written as V'ima Kadphises and not as V'ima Kaṭhphiśa. *San*, appearing on Kushāṇa coins, has been transcribed as *sha*. The sound signified by *san* is known to have been expressed by the letter *sha* in Indian sources. Diacritical marks have not been generally used in modern proper names, including geographical. The term *India* denotes, unless otherwise indicated, the Indian subcontinent comprising the territories of Indian Republic and Pakistan.

In course of my research I have received valuable advices and suggestions from Dr. R. G. Basak, Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Prof. A. L. Basham, Prof. H. W. Bailey, Mr. B. K. Ray Chaudhuri and Dr. K. K. Das Gupta. I owe a debt of gratitude to each of them.

The Late Narendra Sing Singhi was kind enough to allow me to examine his excellent coin-collection, wherein I re-discovered the unique coin of Kanishka III displaying Nanā on lion. This particular piece has been fully discussed in the present monograph. I am grateful to the Asiatic Society for publishing this monograph and to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the great historian, for recommending it to the Society for publication.

The manuscript has been carefully typed out and made ready for press by Mr. S. K. Mukherjee. I have been assisted in various other ways by Messrs. D. N. Das, S. Chowdhury, D. P. Gupta, R. Chatterjee, D. Dutta, S. N. Dey and N. Dey. The jacket has been drawn and the plates have been prepared by Mr. D. Roy. Mr. A. Bose of the Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd. has seen the book through the press. The index has been very ably

prepared by Dr. D. R. Das. I am grateful to each of them for taking personal care in course of the preparation and printing.

I am indebted to the authorities of different collections, objects from which are illustrated in Plates I-XV. They have been mentioned in the Catalogue of the Objects Illustrated.

In spite of our best efforts some printing mistakes have crept in. For these I crave indulgence of readers.

Calcutta,
November, 1969.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

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THIS QUEST

FOR

NANĀ'S PLACE

IN THE

LAND OF INDIAN ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

IS A PILGRIMAGE

IN THE FOOTSTEPS

OF

J. N. BANERJEA

THE GREAT INDIAN ICONOGRAPHIST

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Kushāṇa is an illustrious name to students of Eastern art and antiquities as well as to those of political history. The creative genius of the Orient expressed itself in the Kushāṇa period through different media of art. One of them was coinage.

Several coin-types of the Kushāṇas have been studied by successive generations of scholars not only as sources of political and economic history, but also as objects of art and iconography[1]. However, there are still many devices, artistic merits and iconographic traits as well as underlying concepts of which have not yet been properly studied. Such assessments are necessary for determining the place of Kushāṇa coinage in the evolution of Indian plastic art. An attempt is made in this monograph to examine one particular Kushāṇa coin-type from these points of view.

The class of Kushāṇa species in question bears on the reverse the figure of a female seated on a lion.[2] The accompanying inscription identifies her, as we shall see later, as Nωna, i.e., Nanā (Chapter II). The appearance of the famous ancient Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess Nanā[3] on several coins of the Kushāṇa empire,[4] is a well-known fact.[5] So is also her identification with the ancient Akkadian-Assyrian deity Ishtar and the Persian goddess Anāhita (Chapter II). Anahata (Anāhita), whose cult was perhaps not so ancient as that of Ishtar or of Nanā, was described in an epigraph from Susa as being invoked by Artaxerxes[6] (II Mnemon) (405-361 B.C.). The same Achaemenid emperor was described by Berossos as having erected statues of Aphrodite-Anaïtis in the temples of the great cities of the empire including Bactra.[7] Several classical sources speak of an attack on the temple of Artemis-Nanaia in Elymais by (the Seleucid king) Antiochus (IV).[8] Epigraphic evidence found in a temple complex at Dura-Europos, dated roughly to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., refers to Nanaia[9] (i.e., Nanā). A cult image of Nanai has been discovered at Hatra.[10] She also appears

on clay votive tablets at Palmyra,[11] while a few seals found there carry the figure of Ishtar.[12] The lion of Nanā and the inscription *Nanaia* can be noticed on coins of Sapadbizes found in the territories on the Oxus and datable to a period before the rise of the Kushāṇa empire.[13]

The above data testify to the popularity of Nanā and also the other deities identifiable with her in parts of Asia in the centuries immediately before the beginning of the Christian Era. These testimonies suggest the persistence of the worship of ancient Babylonian Nanā and early Assyrian Ishtar in those centuries. The above evidence also indicates the existence of cults of the goddesses and also of Anāhita in territories later included in the Kushāṇa empire[14] and/or in certain localities (including Palmyra[15]), which were important commercial centres in Rome's trade with the Orient, in which the Kushāṇas participated (Appendix III).

Thus Nanā (i.e., Anāhita and Ishtar) seems to have been known in certain regions incorporated in the Kushāṇa empire. Her appearance on coins may indeed allude to her popularity among a section of the subjects of the Kushāṇa monarchs. And since the Kushāṇa empire included a vast area of the Indian subcontinent, it was not impossible, *prima facie*, for this very important West Asiatic goddess to influence Indian religion and, its handmaid, the Indian art. No comprehensive attempt has yet been made to determine the influence of her concepts on Indian iconic representations.[16] The greater part of this monograph will be devoted to fulfil this need.

This iconological discussion is proposed to be followed by an analysis of the stylistic features of the representation of Nanā on lion and their relations to the known trends of Oriental art. Such an assessment has its own importance, since coins still form a much neglected branch of Indian art.

The technique of minting Kushāṇa coins will also be scrutinised. The excellence of art depends to a great extent on the technique adopted by the artist. Hence it is regrettable that very little or almost nothing has been written on the relevant topic.[17]

Similarly, not much attention has yet been paid to the political, social and economic background of early Indian art.[18] The

knowledge of such a background is desirable, since artists, who formed an integral part of the society, could not possibly have been immune from influences of contemporary political or economic conditions. We shall look at this background so far as it is related to the growth of the Kushāṇa art, which created the coin-device "Nanā on lion".

We propose to study Indian art through the medium of a Kushāṇa coin-type.

NOTES

1. *Oriental and Babylonian Records,* August, 1887, pp. 1 f; *NC,* 1892, pp. 128 f; *Revue Numismatique,* 1901, pp. 154-156; *Arethuse,* 1928, vol. V, pp. 19f; A. K. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* pl. XXX, nos. 120-128 and relevant pages; *JAOS,* 1936, vol. LVI, pp. 429-439; *DHI,* pp. 119 f; etc.
2. *NS,* 1931-1933, no. XLIV, pp. 8-9.
3. *ERE,* vol. II, p. 311; J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* pp. 85 f.
4. *NC,* 1892, pp. 81-82 and 116-117; pl. XVII, nos. 9-16 and pl. XXII, nos. 12-20; *CCGSKBI,* pl. XXVII, no. 5 and pl. XXIX, no. 8; J. Rosenfield, *op. cit.,* pp. 83-84; B. Chattopadhyay, *The Age of The Kushāṇas—A Numismatic Study,* pp. 164-167; etc.
5. See above n. 4.
6. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar Texts Lexicon* (2nd edition), p. 154. Strabo stated that a temple of Anaïtis (Anāhita) was established by some Persian generals (Strabo, *Geographikon,* XI, 8, 4).
7. Berossos quoted in Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos,* V, 65, 3. In this connection see also W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 115 and M. Th. Allouche-Le Page, *L'Art Monétaire des Royaumes Bactriens,* p. 113.
8. *Polybius,* XXXI, 9 (ii); F. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae,* XII, 354-359; etc. For references to sources see also W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.,* p. 463.
9. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-23), *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique,* vol. IX, pp. 190 f.
10. *East and West,* 1960, vol. XI, p. 164, fig. 4.
11. H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig and J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique,* vol. LVIII, nos. 238-242, 285 and 286.
12. *Ibid.,* no. 121.
13. *CCGSKBI,* pl. XXIV, nos. 14-15.
14. See above n. 7.
15. E. H. Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India,* pp. 12, 85-86; etc.
16. A useful, though not exhaustive, study of the development of the iconic concept of Nanā in India has been made recently by Miss B. Saraswati (*JAS,* 1965, vol. VII, pp. 95-98).
17. It is surprising that the author of a recent publication on Kushāṇa coinage (B. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*) has not adequately dealt with the technique of minting Kushāṇa coins.
18. For influence of foreign trade on Gandhāra art, see *The Quarterly Review* of *Historical Studies,* 1965-66, vol. V, pp. 199 f. For a study of the social background of the Andhra art, see *Marg,* 1965 vol. XVIII, no. 3, pp. 36-37.

Chapter II

DEVICES

A

A coin of the type considered in this monograph was published by M. F. C. Martin.[1] The obverse legend in the Greek script and Bactrian language[2] bears the name *Kaneshko Koshano*, i.e., Kanishka, the Kushāṇa.[3] It has on the obverse the figure of a king standing to left and sacrificing at an altar with his right hand. His left hand holds a trident, while another trident, fitted with a fillet, is behind the altar. The (bearded ?) king, who has a nimbus, wears a picked helmet (indicated by dots), a heavy coat, trousers and heavy boots, and has a sword tied to his waist (figs. 1 and 1A).

The dress, pose and posture of the king are identical with those of the royal figure on several coins of Vāsudeva I[4] (fig. 4), and have close resemblance to those of the standing king on the pieces of Kanishka (I)[5] and of V'ima Kadphises.[6] The motif of 'king, wearing long coat and trousers, sacrificing at an altar' was probably copied by V'ima from a coin-type of the Parthian emperor Gotarzes II[7] (fig. 3) (Appendix I).

The convention of representing the standing king with feet in two opposite directions, irrespective of the position of the face, as seen on these Kushāṇa coins, seems also to have been influenced by the royal figures in similar postures on some issues of the Imperial Parthian mints[8] (fig. 3) (and also by some other figures on Scytho-Parthian coins ?).[9] An identical posture, however unrealistic it is, can be noticed, not only in the figure of the Yuëh-chih king delineated on the Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī copper relic casket,[10] but also in the free-standing stone statue of Kanishka I found at Mat near Mathurā[11] (Fig. 2).

It might have been difficult to portray the feet in the frontal direction without increasing the depth of the relief in metal. However, the same cannot be said about the

representation of the king in the free-standing stone sculpture. The insistence on the same scheme in spite of the change of the medium of expression betrays a somewhat conceptual or stylised character of the representations of royal figures in Kushāṇa art.[12]

On the reverse of the type under examination appears (within a border of dots) a female figure, facing to front, and seated on a lion, standing (or walking) to left. She has a crescent above her shoulders. Locks of hair, along the two sides of her head, hang down to the shoulders. The hair on the bare head is tied to fillets. Another crescent is seen above her head. She wears a chiton reaching near her feet, which rest on a lotus (?). She holds a sceptre in her left hand, and a fillet in the right.[13] A four-pronged symbol and the Brāhmī letter *va* occur respectively on her right and left. A blundered legend in the Greek script appears on her left. It looks like ИШИГГО (figs. 1 and 1A).

On the analogy of ligatures of parts of distinct letters and also inaccurate forms of letters on several other Kushāṇa coins,[14] the inscription can be deciphered as NωNA CAO, i.e., NωNA SAO. This reading reminds one of the legend NANA SHAO appearing along with a female deity on a number of Kushāṇa coins.[15] We can indeed cite examples from some coin-legends of the occurrence of *sigma* instead of *san*[16] and of the use of one letter in place of another.[17] Such mistakes were probably due to confusions between the current phonetic values of the letters concerned. This reasoning also perhaps explains the presence of *w*, and not A, after N.[18]

Apparently the goddess (with sceptre and patera), described as Nana Shao in certain coin-legends, is referred to as Nana (or Nanaia, or Nano, or Shao Nano) in some others.[19] This suggests that the expression *shao* did not form an integral part of her name. The term *shao*, generally denoting "king",[20] may perhaps have been used as an honorific or for indicating an exalted position. The title "king" is attributed to Nanai also in an inscription found in Assur.[20a]

The legend NωNA SAO, i.e., NANA SHAO, engraved by the side of the female figure on lion on the coin under discussion, obviously refers to her.[21] She appears to have been known as Nanā.[22]

This name, judged against the background of our knowledge of the appearance of West and Central Asian deities on Kushāṇa coins,[23] connects or identifies her with Nanā, the Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess.[24] The latter was considered to be the same as the Akkadian as well as Assyrian deity Ishtar.[25] One of the conceptions about Ishtar was that of a mother goddess.[26] Lion was sacred to her.[27] In fact, this animal was one of the symbols emphasising her warlike character.[28] In ancient Mesopotamian glyptic art and statuary she was sometimes shown in full panoply of a war-goddess armed with a bow, quivers, arrows and a sword (or a sceptre) and standing on a lion[28a] (fig. 7). Ishtar and Nanā were also connected with the Persian Anāhita,[29] a common link having been their supposed identity with the planet Venus.[30]

The connection of Nanā with moon is suggested by an epigraphic source which describes her as the daughter of Moon god.[30a] It is interesting to note that some of the deities related to her were also associated with the moon. Ishtar was a member of the triad which also included Sin, the Moon god.[31] She was even considered as a daughter of Sin.[32] The lunar aspect of Ishtar is perhaps further indicated by the merging of her idea with that of Aphrodite,[33] or by the latter's supposed origin from Ishtar (Astarte).[34] Nanā, Ishtar and Aphrodite were identified with Venus.[35] Perceptions about Aphrodite as the goddess of vegetation, meadow, fertility, marriage, love, prosperity of man and beast, etc., [36] were also akin to the ideas concerning Ishtar as the goddess of vegetation, field, fertility, wed-lock, wedded love, maternity, prosperity of men, etc. [37] Hence it is not impossible that the concepts of Ishtar (Astarte-Nanā) were also connected with another aspect of Aphrodite (Aphrodite-Melainis), in which she was worshipped as a moon goddess at Thespiae.[38] The crescent, the constant mark of Thespian money, was her symbol.[39]

We may also add here that the Greek goddess Artemis was also sometimes identified with the moon. [40] As she appears on Indo-Scythic as well as Indo-Greek coins,[41] she might not have been altogether unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands in the Kushāṇa age. And since, as we shall presently see, one of her

concepts corresponds to an aspect of the character of Ishtar or Anāhita, it is difficult to deny the possibility of the intrusion of another trait, that of Artemis (as the Moon goddess), into the amalgam of ideas concerning Nanā (Ishtar-Anāhita) in the Indian borderlands.

The tendencies to associate the king of beasts with Nanā and also to connect her with (a heavenly body as well as) the moon are perhaps betrayed by a series of coins of Sapadbizes. Each of these bears the figure of a lion with (a triangle without any base and) a crescent above and also the legend *Nanaia*[42] (figs. 8 and 8A).

The goddess herself, described as Nano, appears on a lion on a coin-type of Huvishka, published by A. Cunningham.[43] Here she sits on a lion, walking to right.[44] She has a nimbus and wears a chiton reaching her feet. A crescent appears above her head. A four-pronged symbol occurs on her right. She holds a sceptre, tied with a flowing fillet and topped by the forepart of an animal (deer or horse ?)[45] (figs. 10 and 10A).

The last-mentioned feature probably alludes to the conception of Anāhita, i.e., Nanā, as the mistress of beasts,[46] or to that of Ishtar, i.e., Nanā, as a goddess of hunting.[47]

In either of these aspects the goddess (Ishtar-Nanā-Anāhita) could be related to Artemis, the Greek goddess of flocks as well as the protectress of young animals[48] and also the divine huntress.[49] In fact, it is generally believed that by the expression 'Persian Artemis' certain classical authors denoted Anāhita.[50] An inscription expressly refers to Artemis-Nanā.[51] It is also remarkable that while the standing figure of a female with her left hand holding a bow and the right hand drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back, appearing on some coins of the Indo-Greek king Artemidorus (fig. 12), has been recognised as Artemis,[52] a similar type on several coins of Huvishka is described as representing Nano, i.e., Nanā[53] (fig. 13).

We must, however, remember that in Assyrian art itself Ishtar (Nanā) is depicted as standing, armed with bow, arrows and quivers.[54] Hence it is not certain whether the similarity between the conceptions of Artemis and Anāhita or Ishtar influenced the relevant features of the iconography of seated Nanā on Huvishka's coins published by A. Cunningham (figs. 10 and 10A).

As on this piece, the seated Nanā of the coin-type under

discussion holds a sceptre (knotted ?), tied with a fillet (?). This sceptre is, however, not topped by the forepart of an animal, and is more easily comparable, together with the fillet held by the goddess, to the sceptre and diademed fillet borne by Tyche of the city appearing on the Imperial Parthian coins[55] (fig. 14). These were minted from c. A.D. 51-52 to 222-223.[56]

Tyche on these coins wears a turreted crown, which distinguishes her as a city-goddess.[57] Female figures wearing similar crowns can be noticed, *inter alia*, in sculptures of the Parthian period discovered at Hatra in Syria[58] and on coins of the Indo-Greek rulers Peucolaus[58a] and Hippostratus,(?), [58b] the Indo-Scythian monarch Maues,[59] and the Indo-Parthian king Azilises[59a] and in early Gandhāra sculptures recently discovered in the Swat area[60] (fig. 22).

A unique gold medal, coin, or token in the British Museum displays on the obverse a female figure, wearing a similar mural or turreted crown and clad in a loose robe or chiton reaching down to the feet, as one finds in several representations of Tyche on coins and in sculptures. The lady stands in a slightly inclined pose. Her left hand, which clutches a part of the garment (?), is placed on the upper portion of her left thigh. She holds in her half-raised right hand the stalk of a half-opened lotus[61] (fig. 17) (Appendix II).

A Kharoshṭhī inscription on the obverse refers to Aṁpa, the deity of Pakhalavadi[62] (Appendix II). The inscription obviously refers to the female figure as the goddess of Pakhalavadi, i.e., Pushkalāvatī or Pushkarāvatī of ancient Gandhāra or the modern Charsada region of West Pakistan[63] (Appendix II). The city-goddess aspect of the deity is also emphasised by her turreted head-dress.

The expression *Aṁpa* may stand for *Aṁpā* or *Amvā* or *Ambā*.[64] The term *Ambā* denotes, *inter alia*, "a mother as well as Durgā, the consort of Śiva"[65] (Appendix II).

The identification of the deity as the consort of Śiva is perhaps also supported by the appearance of a bull on the reverse of the medal together with the legends *ushabhe* and *Tauros*,[66] both meaning "bull".

It is well-known that bull was considered as the theriomorphic form as well as the mount of the god Śiva.[67] The latter was

specially worshipped in ancient Gandhāra, where Pushkarāvatī, was situated.[68] So Ambā, his consort, would have been regarded as the presiding deity or the mother goddess of that area. Her connection with Pushkarāvatī, the name of which literally means "the lotus city", is further emphasised by the lotus held in her right hand.

In this connection we may mention that a lady holding a lotus, delineated by the side of the figure of Oesho, on some coins of Huvishka, is described as Ommo[68a] (fig. 20).

The name *Oesho* seems to have been based on the word *Visha*, one of the Prakrit renderings of Sanskrit *Vṛisha*.[68a] (We may compare *Oesho* with the forms *Oado* <*Vāta*, *Ooeshki*< *Huvishka*, *Kaneshko* < *Kanishka*, etc.).

As *vṛisha* or bull on several early Indian coins is considered to be the theriomorphic representation of Śiva,[68b] the word *Oesho* =*Vṛisha*=*Visha* may refer to him[68c] and not only to his mount. *Ommo* probably stands for *Umā*[69] (or for *Ammā* < *Ambā* ?).

Umā was another name of Durgā or Ambā.[70] If the word *Ommo* refers to Umā, her relation with Ambā, the city-goddess, is also indicated by the flower held by her.

On a few other pieces of Huvishka the female figure, standing by the side of Oesho, is referred to as Nana[71] (fig. 18). This numismatic evidence thus distinguishes Nanā as a consort of Śiva and identifies, or at least associates, her with Umā,[72] alias Ambā.

It appears that the concept of divine maternity, common to Ambā, Umā and Nanā, led to the identification of each with the others. The process of this syncretism may have begun even before the time of Huvishka.

Some coins, bearing the name of Azes, have on the reverse the figure of a bull standing to right in a posture identical with that of the same animal on the gold medal mentioned above. The obverse of these coins shows a female figure, whose posture, dress and positions of hands and half-opened lotus held in the right hand are almost the same as those of the deity on the gold piece[73] (fig. 17). This suggests the identity of the goddess on the Azes pieces with city-deity of Pushkalāvatī, viz., Ambā.[74]

On another group of coins, also referring to Azes, appears a female having almost identical iconic features. The forepart of a lion is delineated by her side[75] (fig. 16).

It seems that the lion association of Nanā probably began to influence the iconography of Ambā by the end of the period of the group of Azes (I or II), who ruled from about the middle of the 1st century B.C. to about the end of the first quarter of the 1st century A.D.[76] The figural representation of Nanā, in its turn, felt the impact of that of the city-goddess Tyche[77] by the time of the Kushāṇa king Kaneshko, i.e., Kanishka. One of the causes of such an impact was perhaps the association of the mother goddess Ishtar or Nanā with the city-deity as well as mother goddess Ambā or rather Ambā-Tyche.

The indebtedness of Nanā-Ambā to Tyche (as the goddess of fortune) is further indicated by a group of coins of the Imperial Guptas referring to Chandragupta (I) and Kumāradevī. The reverse of these pieces displays a female figure, having a nimbus and wearing a long loose robe, seated on a lion couchant to either left or right. She holds a fillet in her outstretched right hand and a cornucopia by the left arm. Her feet rest on a lotus[78] (fig. 26).

The lady on lion can be easily recognised as Nanā-Ambā. Nevertheless, the appearance of a cornucopia, and not of a sceptre, is remarkable. On Greek coins [79] and also on some Imperial Parthian pieces [80] cornucopia appears as an attribute of Tyche. As her name (*Τύχη*, meaning 'fortune') suggests, she was considered as the goddess of fortune,[81] and was indeed identified with the Roman Fortuna,[82] who was also depicted in art as carrying a cornucopia.[83] Pausanias categorically stated that Tyche had a *πόλος* on her head and held in her right hand what the Greeks called the *Κέρας Ἀμαλθίας*,[84] i.e., 'the horn of plenty'.[85] The horn of plenty or cornucopia was indeed a fitting emblem of the goddess of fortune.

The same attribute may be noticed on an unpublished intaglio seal, found somewhere in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and now preserved in the collection of Professer S. K. Saraswati of Calcutta. It shows a female facing left. She wears a chiton reaching down to her feet, and has a *polos* head-dress. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia. Stalks of two lotuses are held by her right hand (fig. 19).

The presence of *polos* as well as the horn of plenty distinguishes her as Tyche, the goddess of fortune. On the other hand, the lotuses held by a female in Greek attire remind us of Ambā, the

tutelary head of Pushkarāvatī or 'the lotus-city', as depicted on the British Museum gold medal mentioned above (fig. 17).

This female figure on S. K. Saraswati's intaglio can indeed be identified as Ambā-Tyche of Pushkarāvatī if we consider that some square copper coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Philoxenus, which bear on the reverse Śiva's mount bull, show on the obverse a lady, wearing chiton and *polos* head-dress, as holding a cornucopia in her left hand and the stalk of a half-opened lotus (?) in her right hand[85a] (fig. 51).

It appears that the character of Ambā as a city-divinity led her to borrow the turreted crown of Tyche, the city-goddess. This association of the city-deity-cum-mother-goddess with Tyche, the city-goddess, resulted in the imbibing by Ambā of another trait of Tyche's character revealed as the goddess of fortune. It is also possible that Tyche, as conceived of in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, was influenced by Ambā through her city-goddess aspect. From these currents and cross-currents in thoughts emerged the concept of a female divinity combining in herself the traits of Ambā, the city-deity and mother goddess, and of Tyche, the city-goddess and the goddess of fortune. She is represented in the coin-type under discussion.

Though the Calcutta intaglio cannot be precisely dated, the Hellenistic treatment of the head-dress and attire of the female figure engraved on it indicates that it should not be placed after the 2nd century A.D., by which time the direct or strong Hellenistic influence on the art of Gandhāra had declined.[86] The British Museum gold medal referring to Ambā, the city goddess, can also be ascribed to the early centuries of the Christian Era or even to the 1st century B.C.[87] (Appendix II).

As it has been described above, a device on some of Huvishka's coins shows Nanā by the side of Oesho, i.e., Śiva, apparently in place of Ommo, i.e., Umā (alias Ambā), portrayed along with the same male deity on some other pieces of that king. It has also been suggested that this alludes to an association or a fusion of the concepts of Nanā and Ambā (Umā) as mother goddess. Nanā, on the first of these two groups of coins, holds a cornucopia, the emblem of Tyche, whereas Umā (Ambā) has a lotus (also held by the deity of Pushkarāvatī) on the second group of species. It seems that Nanā has the cornucopia apparently in place of

Umā's lotus. And since there was a fusion between an aspect of one deity with that of the other goddess, Nanā might have received the horn of plenty from Tyche and through the concept of Umā or Ambā as the divinity in charge of fortune.

If such a hypothesis is acceptable, Ambā and also Nanā began to be regarded as goddesses of fortune by the time of Huvishka. It should, however, be admitted that 'the horn of plenty' was not confined only to Tyche. It was associated also with several other divinities including the Greek goddess Demeter. Her icons in stone, including the one found at Taxila[88] (fig. 21), and her representations on coins, among which are some Greek, Arsacid and Scytho-Parthian pieces,[89] show her as holding a cornucopia. As a goddess of corn and giver of plenty,[90] she was akin to Ishtar, the mistress of fields and vegetation and the bestower of prosperity on man.[91] Ears of corn, which apparently symbolise one of the above traits, formed an important element in her representations.[92] Several ancient seals, produced long before the age of the Kushāṇas, show a seated female, representing one form of Ishtar, as holding sheaves of grains.[93] On certain coins of Huvishka, minted in the Kushāṇa period itself, Nanā is portrayed as having a patera with corn shoots in one of her hands.[94]

These similarities between concepts and iconic attributes of these deities render the transfer of Demeter's horn to Nanā (Ishtar) *prima facie* possible.[95] Thus we cannot be sure of the source from which Nanā received her cornucopia.

Nevertheless, the above discussions would definitely suggest that by the 2nd century A.D. Ambā became known as the giver of fortune, and was no longer regarded only as a mother goddess or a city-deity. Consequently, Nanā, identified at least with the mother goddess aspect of Ambā, could have also imbibed her character as the deity of fortune by the early centuries of the Christian Era.

It is, however, not certain whether the plastic representations of Greek Tyche or Latin Fortuna or Demeter or Nanā holding a horn were easily available to Gupta mint-masters, who struck coins displaying a goddess seated on a lion and holding *inter alia* a cornucopia. They could, however, copy the iconographic features of another goddess of fortune, Αρδοχρο. The term *Ardokhsho* signifies 'the spirit of fortune', [*art*<*ṝti* (=fortune)+*w'χsh* (*vaχsh*)

(=spirit)].[96]. The goddess bearing such a name appears seated on a throne with a high back and holding a fillet and a cornucopia on a group of Kushāṇa coins[97] (fig. 25). This type was imitated on the reverse of a great number of Gupta coins[98] (fig. 27). This fact shows that Kushāṇa coins bearing such a device were available to the die-cutters in Gupta mints. Traces of the back of the throne, as depicted in this type, can indeed be noticed on most of the Gupta coins bearing the names of Chandragupta(I) and Kumāradevī [99] (fig. 26).

The meaningless copy of the back portion of a throne behind a goddess actually seated on a lion indicates the slavish imitation of at least one feature of a type which includes a seat with a high back. The early Gupta mint-masters combined the two devices into one. Probably the prevailing concepts of Ambā-Nanā as the goddess of fortune as well as the mother goddess and their knowledge of the presence of the emblems of the goddess of fortune in the coin-type of the Kushāṇa king Kaneshko and also their familiarity with the device showing the enthroned 'spirit of fortune' hastened the fusion of the types concerned.

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Thus the device of Nanā on lion on Kushāṇa coins betrays the impact of the iconographic features of Ambā, Tyche and perhaps also Artemis (and Aphrodite ?).[100] These were the results of the fusion of concepts of Nanā and Ambā as mother-goddess, of Ambā and Tyche as city-goddess, of Ishtar (Nanā) and Artemis as protectress or goddess of beasts or as divine huntress (and of the intrusion of the idea of Aphrodite as the moon goddess into the concepts of Nanā (Ishtar), who was otherwise related to the Moon god ?[101]). The goddess on the coins referring to Chandragupta (I) and Kumāradevī imbibed the iconic traits of a deity of fortune, Ardokhsho, after Ambā or Ambā-Nanā had already become influenced by the idea of another deity of fortune, viz., Tyche.

The influence of the goddess of fortune is further emphasised by the appearance on a Bilsaḍ pillar, datable to the Gupta age, of a female, holding the stalk of a lotus, seated on an animal, which J. Rosenfield recognises as a lion,[102] with elephants performing

lusture on her[103] (fig. 24). This indicates the influence of the old "*abhisheka* of Lakshmī" motif on the iconic representation of the goddess on lion. A similar composition may be noticed in a stone image of the early mediaeval period found at Rāmpāl (Dacca district, East Pakistan). Here the goddess is represented as standing and holding, *inter alia*, a lotus. The figure of a couchant lion is carved on the pedestal, indicating it as her vehicle, and the two elephants on the stele are shown as performing lusture on her[104] (fig. 52). A pedestal inscription calls the deity as Chaṇḍidevi.[105] N. K. Bhattasali, however, has attempted, on the authority of the *Sāradātilaka Tantra*, to identify her as Bhuvaneśvarī.[106] We may point out that according to Tantric conceptions, Lakshmī, one form of Bhuvaneśvarī, holds lotuses and has elephants performing lusture on her, while Bhavānī or Durgā, another manifestation of Bhuvaneśvarī, sits on a lion.[107] Thus the ideas concerning the goddess of fortune (Lakshmī) and the goddess on lion (Durgā) were absorbed by the mediaeval period into the Tantric concept of Bhuvaneśvarī, "the lady of the universe".

Different syncretistic tendencies thus contributed to the growth of the concept of iconography of the "goddess on lion", who became ultimately known as *Durgā Siṁhavāhinī* (figs. 44-46). The date of the origin of this type of iconic representation of Durgā may be placed earlier than the Gupta age, by which period the "goddess on lion" was definitely Indianised. The appearance of Durgā on lion could indeed have been conceived of by artists any time after Nanā's lion became associated with Ambā by the period of Azes (I or II) or Nanā herself was identified with Umā (or Ambā) by the time of Huvishka. A few sculptures displaying a lion and a goddess have been recognised as representing Durgā and are dated to the Kushāṇa period.[108] One of them, made of stone and having a height of 1′-1½″, consists of the remaining lower portion of a female standing against a couchant lion [109] (fig. 42). This piece was discovered at the site of the Kushāṇa *devakula* at Mat near Mathurā.[110] So if V. S. Agrawala is correct in identifying this image as that of Durgā,[111] the "Durgā on lion" iconic type must have originated by the time of the Imperial Kushāṇas.[112]

More important, from the standpoint of identification, is perhaps a statuette (height 10″, width 4″) made of red sand-

stone, ascribable, on stylistic considerations, to the Mathurā school of the Kushāṇa age[113] (fig. 43). This sculpture, which is in a private collection in the U.S.A., shows a two-armed female standing to front on a lion couchant to right with the face turning towards her. She holds a trident in her left hand. Her half-raised right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā*. Something appears above her right hand. This can be recognised as a small drum or *ḍamaru*, if it is compared with the object held in the right hand of Śiva shown along with his trident on one side of a class of post-Kushāṇa (and post-Gupta ?) coins, [114] on the reverse of which is a goddess on lion, recognisable as Durgā Siṁhavāhinī (fig. 35). The occurrence of trident and drum, which became well-known cognizances of Śiva by the Kushāṇa age,[115] should identify the Mathurā sculpture of the Kushāṇa period as representing his consort Durgā (Siṁhavāhinī)[116] (fig. 43).

Lion appears also in the majority of the Devī's images showing her as slaying the demon Mahisha. The association of lion with Durgā in her demon-slaying form may echo the concept of Ishtar (Nanā) as a war goddess[117] (see also fig. 7). It is, however, not certain whether the concept behind the origin of this type of icons was in any way directly or indirectly influenced by the Avestan belief that the mounts (horses) of (Ardvi Sūra) Anāhita (Nanā) crushed 'the hates' of the Daevas[118] (meaning demons or devils in Iranian context). Such a hypothesis is not explicitly supported by the earliest known important Indian text dealing with the exploits of Durgā Mahishamardinī, viz., the Devī-māhātmya section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[119] It should, however, be remembered that a number of Mahishamardinī images have been placed earlier than any conceivable date for the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[120]

It is interesting to note that lion does not (generally ?) appear in the known Mathuran icons of Mahishamardinī datable to the time of the Kushāṇas.[121] Among the earliest works of art showing the animal accompanying Durgā killing Mahisha may be a terra-cotta plaque from Nagar[122] (fig. 41), perhaps ascribable to the Kushāṇa period (?),[123] and a sandstone relief found at Bhita,[124] attributed to the age of the Guptas.[125] The type in question became very popular from the early mediaeval period and played a prominent role in the domain of Indian images and sculptures.[126]

NOTES

1. *NS*, 1931-1933, no. XLIV, pp. 8-9. This coin is now in the collection of the late Narendra Nath Singh Singhi of Calcutta.
2. For characteristics of this language, see the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960, vol. XXIII, pp. 50 f.
3. For the reasons for considering the final *omicrons* as word-dividers, see *ibid.*, p. 50.
4. *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XIX, no. 210.
5. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, nos. 53 and 63.
6. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, no. 36.
7. *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 110 f; Pl. IV, no. 3A.
8. W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, Pl. XXVII, no. 21; etc.
9. *CCGSKBI*, Pl. XX, no. 6; pl. XXII, no. 8; etc.
10. *British Museum Quarterly*, 1964, vol. XXVIII, Pl. XIV.
11. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 121.
12. The feet of the effigy of another Kushāṇa king from Mat (near Mathurā) (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 125) and those of the sculptured figure of a Scytho-Parthian or Kushāṇa noble personage found in the Swat area (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, p. 294) are more realistically treated.
13. M. F. C. Martin wrongly described the goddess as holding a noose and as having folds of drapery flowing over her feet (*NS*, 1931-33, no. XLIV, p. 85; see also A. S. Altekar, *Corpus of Indian Coins*, vol. IV, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 37).
14. *NC*, 1892, Pl. VIII, no. 4; Pl. XI, no. 14; Pl. XII, no. 17; *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XVII, no. 36; Pl. XVIII, no. 92; Pl. XIX, no. 155; etc.
15. *NC*, 1892, Pl. VII, nos. 10 and 11; *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XVII, no. 66; etc.
16. Compare *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XIV, no. 394 with *ibid.*, Pl. XIV, no. 395.
17. For examples of the use of *o* in place of *a*, see *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, Pl. I, nos. 1, 2, etc.
18. Was *alpha* replaced by *omicron* (see above n. 17) and (then) *omicron* replaced by *omega* ?
19. *NC*, 1892, Pl. VII, nos. 9, 11 and 14; Pl. XII, nos. 14, 15 and 20; *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XVII, no. 57; etc.
20. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1948, vol. XII, pp. 327-328; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 357.

20*a*. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-1923), *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, vol. IX, p. 197.

21. Inscriptions on the reverse of coins of Kanishka I and his Kushāṇa successors state the names of the deities represented on the same side of those pieces (*NC*, 1892, P11. VI f.).
22. Neither M. F. C. Martin (*NS*, 1931-33; no. XLIV, p. 8), nor A. S. Altekar (*op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 38) read the legend. Martin, however, correctly thought that the inscription probably began with NωN.... Both he and Altekar also rightly assumed that the female figure on the reverse

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represented Nanā. Miss B. Saraswati has recently stated, following my verbal suggestion, that Nanā's name occurs in the inscription in question (*JAS*, 1965, vol. VII, nos. 1-2, p. 97). However, she too has not discussed the reading of the legend. This is done here for the first time.

23. *Oriental and Babylonian Records*, August, 1892, pp. 1 f; *NC*, 1892, pp. 77 f.; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp. 422-424; etc.
24. *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 428. For literary references to Nanā, see G. Hoffmann, "Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer", *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenländes*, 1880, vol. VII, no. 3, pp. 151 f.
25. G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 521; *ERE*, vol. II, p. 311; etc.
26. S. H. Langdon, *Psalms*, p. 257; *ERE*, vol. II, p. 311; vol. VII, p. 430.
27. *ERE*, vol. II, p. 311.
28. S. H. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pl. I, no. 1; *ERE*, vol. XII, p. 700.

28*a*. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals, A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, p. 215; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 105; see also *ERE*, vol. II, p. 116; vol. XII, p. 700. Ishtar was supposed to have appeared in a dream in the period of Assurbanipal as armed with quivers, bow and sword (E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliotheck*, II, 227 and 251). Nanā, who had been identified with Ishtar, was also known as "arbitress of battles" and "ruler of weapons" (L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. I, p. 222). On some coins of Huvishka one can notice a sword tied to the waist of Nanā (*NC*, 1892, pl. XII, no. 12) (fig. 11). Certain other coins of the same monarch show her with bow, arrows and quivers (*ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 16) (fig. 13). The presence of these weapons probably lay stress on her war goddess aspect.

29. *ERE*, vol. I, p. 414; *NC*, 1892, pp. 149-150.
30. *ERE*, vol. I, p. 415; vol. II, p. 311; vol. VII, p. 432; *Maccabees*, I, 12; G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 521 and f.n. 9. See also H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pl. 119, fig. a.

30*a*. L. W. King, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 222 f.

31. *ERE*, vol. II, pp. 310-311.
32. *Ibid;* G. A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, no. 53, pp. 96-99; *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, 1907, vol. XXIII, pp. 172 f.

A crescent occurs under the feet of the figure of a woman, now in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University. She is recognised as 'Ashtart, who is identified with Ishtar (*ERE*, vol. II, pp. 115 f; vol. VII, pp. 430 and 433). L. B. Paton thinks that one of the reasons for the identification of Ishtar with Venus was 'the fact' that she 'was the daughter of Sin' (*ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 432).

On a few coins of Huvishka a female figure with bow, arrow and quiver is described by a legend which A. Cunningham proposed to decipher as ZHPO, i.e., Zahra. Cunningham recognises, on the analogy between the iconic traits of this figure and those of Nanā on some other coins, that the latter is represented on the pieces in question. He also observed that

Zahra was "the Persian name for Venus. According to Hesychius, *Zarétis* was the Persian *Artemis*" (*NC*, 1892, p. 116; see also pp. 149-150).

33. *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 434; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 67; etc.
34. C. B. Avery (editor), *The New Century Classical Hand Book*, p. 123; etc.
35. It should be noted that Ishtar and Nanā were identified with the planet Venus (see above n. 19; *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 432), while Aphrodite was equated with the Italic Venus (*ERE*, vol. VIII, pp. 178-179).
36. *Inscriptionae Graecae* (published by the Berlin Academy), XII, 5, 52; XII, 5, 220; VII, 41; XIV, 208 f; *Ancient Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV, 901; Pausanias, *Periegesis tes Hellados*, II, 34, 11; III, 13, 9; *ERE*, vol. VIII, pp. 168-169; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 67; etc.
37. G. A, Reisner, *op. cit.*, no. 56, rev. 49 f; J.A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, I, 15-17; Herodotus, *History*, I, 199; *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXXI, pp. 21, 63, 66 and 68; H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 141; *ERE*, vol. VII, pp. 430-431.
38. Pausanias, *op. cit.*, IX, 27; IX, 37, 5; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (reprint, 1963), p. 354.
39. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks, From circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 270, Based on the Work of Barclay V. Head*, Pl. XXIII, no. 36 and p. 40.
40. C. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
41. *CCGSKBI*, Pl. III, no. 1; XVI, no. 5; XXXII, no. 4. In this connection see also M. Th. Allouche-Le Page, *L'Art Monétaire des Royaumes Bactriens*, pp. 112-117.
42. *CCGSKBI*, Pl. XXIV, no. 14-15.
43. *NC*, 1892, Pl. XII, no. 19.
44. For a representation of a goddess (Nanā ?) on lion on a seal see figure 9. See also *NC*, 1892, Pl. XII, no. 18 and above n. 28a. She holds a staff with animal protome in her right hand and a bowl or patera in her left hand. The Bactrian legend ΦPEIXOAΔHO, inscribed on this seal, means "loyal to (or beloved of) the emperor" (*JA*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp. 362-363; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960, vol. XXIII, p. 50; C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 102). A stone sculpture in the Lahore Museum shows a seated female figure holding a bowl in her right hand and an indistinct object in her left hand. She is attended by two half-squating dogs or lionesses looking at her (J. Burgess, *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, p. 12 and pl. 135, no. 2) (fig. 6). If these animals are lionesses, then we have here a stone icon associated with the concept of the goddess on lion.
45. *NC*, 1892, Pl. XII, no. 20.
46. *ERE*, vol. I, p. 415.
47. H. C. Rawlinson, *Western Asiatic Inscriptions*, I, 7; *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 432. On some Kushāṇa coins Nanashao holds a sceptre topped by the forepart of an animal and also has a sword tied to her waist (*NC*, 1892, pl. VII, nos. 10, 11, etc.) (fig. 11). The presence of a sword in a broken sculpture of a female led H. Ingholt to identify her as Nanaia (H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran*

Art in Pakistan, p. 168 and fig. 442). But the sculpture is too mutilated to admit of any definite identification (fig. 5).

48. C. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.
49. *Ibid; Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 104.
50. Pausanias, *op. cit.*, VII, 6, 6. For other references see *ERE*, vol. I, p. 415.
51. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenländes*, 1880, vol. VII, pt. 3, pp. 156-157.
52. *CCGSKBI*, p. 54 and Pl. XIII, no. 2. Artemis was represented in plastic art as carrying a bow, a quiver, an arrow and a deer (*ibid.*), or as holding a bow and a patera (*Ancient Coins*, p. 139, Pl. BB, no. V), or with a bow, a quiver, an arrow and a hound (C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 249, Pl. LXI, no. 1), or with a bow, an arrow and a quiver (*CCGSKBI*, pp. 7 and 170; Pl. III, no. 1 and Pl. XXXII, no. 3).
53. *NC*, 1892, pl. XII, no. 16. It is interesting to note that the title "creatress of all creatures" is attributed to Ishtar in an amulet inscription (*ERE*, vol. VII, p. 430).
54. W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, ch. XXV; *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 432. In this connection see also C. Garbini, *The Ancient World* (*Landmarks of the World's Art*), p. 69, fig. 48.
55. W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 193, 203, 209, 224, 237, 241, 243, etc., Pl. XXX, no. 1; XXXI, no. 5; XXXII, no. 6; XXXIV, no. 1; XXXV, nos. 7, 14, 15; etc.

    It may be pointed out here that the male god Serapis (=Sarapis) appears on a variety of Huvishka's coins as seated on throne with modius on head, a sceptre in his left hand and a fillet (?) in his right hand (*NC*, 1892, p. 120 and Pl. XIII, no. 9) (fig. 34). Here he is not seen with his companion, the three-headed dog Cerberus, though he is represented as carrying two of his other emblems, viz., the modius and the sceptre. The combination of sceptre and fillet attributes reminds one of the cognizances of Tyche, the city-goddess. It is indeed interesting to note that in one inscription a man with an Alexandrine deme name calls Sarapis as the god of the city and addresses him as Sarapis Polieus (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 793). It is not impossible that his character as a city-deity is emphasised by the coins of Huvishka in question. The attributes of Tyche, the city-goddess, seem to have been transferred to Sarapis, the city-god.
56. See above n. 55.
57. *Ibid.*
58. H. Ingholt, "Parthian Sculptures from Hatra, Orient and Hellas in Art and Religion", *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XII, Pl. II, fig. 2.

58*a*. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, pl. XXVII, No. 13.
58*b*. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XIV, no. 6.
59. *CCGSKBI*, pp. 68 and 70 and Pl. XVI, nos. 3 and 9.
59*a*. *NC*, 1890, pl. X, no. 7.
60. *East and West*, 1963, vol. XIV, p. 31 and figs. 5, 6 and 10.

61. *CCGSKBI*, p. XXIX, no. 15.
62. *NC*, 1965, pp. 109 f.; Pl. IX, no. 1.
63. M. Wheeler, *Charsada, A Metropolis of the North-Western Frontier*, pp. 1f.
64. *NC*, 1965, pp. 110-111.
65. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1951), p. 83.
66. *NC*, 1965, Pl. IX, no. 1.
67. *DHI*, p. 27.
68. For references to sources see *NC*, 1965, p. 111.
68*a*. *Ibid.*, 1892, pl. XIII, no. 1.
68*b*. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1045, f.n. 1.
68*c*. *DHI*, p. 112.
68*d*. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1045, f.n.1. It has been suggested that the word *vṛisha* has been used in Sanskrit literature as a name of Śiva (M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 1012).
69. *NC*, 1892, Pl. XIII, no. 1; *JRAS*, 1897, p. 324; *DHI*, p. 136. J. Rosenfield has rightly pointed out that R. Göbl (H. Humbach, *Die Kaniska-inschrift von Surkh-Kotal*, pp. 57-59) was wrong in amending the reading *Ommo* as *Oemo* and identifying the latter name with that of V'ima Kadphises (J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 94).
70. M. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
71. *NC*, 1892, Pl. XIII, no. 2; *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XVIII, no. 135. It may be noted here that some representations of Anāhita in early Central Asian art show her as holding a flower.
72. This was apparently the opinion of J. N. Banerjea (*DHI*, p. 136). See also *JAS*, 1965, vol. VII, nos. 1-2, pp. 96-97.
73. *PMC*, vol. I, Pl. XII, no. 308.
74. *NC*, 1965, p. 112.
75. *CCGSKBI*, Pl. XIX, no. 5; see also *DHI*, p. 257.
76. In this connection see E. J. Rapson (editor), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 572.
77. It may be noted here that Artemis was sometimes regarded as a goddess of streets and of foundation of towns (C. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 170).
78. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, Pl. III, no. 15; A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, Pl. I, no. 12; etc.
79. C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, p. 232, and Pl. LXIV, no. 1; A. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
80. W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 and 234; Pl. XXIII, no. 3; Pl. XXXIV, nos. 13 and 14; etc.
81. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 929-930.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 930.
83. C. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 1128; R. Carson, *Coins*, Pl. XVIII, no. 262.
84. Pausanias, *op. cit.*, IV, 30.
85. H. G. Liddle and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (reprint, 1961), p. 76.
85*a*. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XIII, no. 10.
86. G. H. Ingholt, *The Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, p. 40.

87. *NC*, 1965, pp. 111-112.
88. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 699; vol. III, Pl. 211, no. 1. It may be argued, following an evidence of Pausanias (*op. cit.*, IV, 30), that the *polos* head-dress and the horn of plenty adorning a stone icon of a goddess found at Taxila (J. Marshall, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pl. 211, no. 1) (fig. 21) and her representations on some coins of Amyntas (R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Le Trésor monétaire de Qunduz, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XX, p. 46, and pl. LIII, nos. 622 and 623) (fig. 23), Hippostratus (*CCGSKBI*, pl. XIV, no. 1), Azes (I or II) (*ibid.*, pl. XIX, nos. 2 and 3) and Zeionises (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, no. 82) may identify her as Tyche. She appears with *polos*, cornucopia and sceptre on a number of Seleucid coins (P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, The Seleucid Kings of Syria* (reprint, 1963), pl. XIV, nos. 1-3; pl. XV, no. 2; pl. XVIII, no. 2.
89. W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, no. 1; V, nos. 1-2; A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pl. III, no. 2; pl. XXVIII, no. 8; pp. 79 and 169; *CCGSKBI*, pl. XIX, nos. 2 and 3. The deity on these coins may, however, be identified as Tyche (see above n. 88).
90. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 263.
91. G. A. Reisner, *op. cit.*, no. 56, rev. 49 f; *ERE*, vol. VII, pp. 430-431; M. Jastrow, *Die Religiones Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. I, p. 533.
92. *Ancient Coins*, p. 141.
93. W. H. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-137.
94. *NC*, 1892, pl. XII, nos. 15 and 20.
95. A seal published by A. Cunningham displays a female holding a cornucopia in the left arm and stretching (partly) the right hand towards a child and looking down on the latter. The child is staring at her with the hands half raised. A legend on her left can be read as ϕOOΓAO (*NC*, 1892, pl. XI, no. 16) (fig. 38). For a similar seal showing a standing female, holding a cornucopia and accompanied by two children, one staring at her from the left and the other from the right, see *JNSI*, 1961, vol. XXIII, pp. 319; and pl. VII, no. 10.

    A. Cunningham interpreted the legend *Shoogao* as meaning 'Queen Earth' (*NC*, 1892, p. 111). (cf. *Shoho* for *Shaho* on some Kushano-Sasanian coins and *Sao* for *Shaho* in the legend *Nwnasao* referring to a female goddess). If this interpretation is correct and if this legend alludes to the female figure (neither of which propositions is certain), she may be identified as Demeter or Ishtar (Nanā). Demeter as the goddess of corn or Ishtar (Nanā) as the mistress of fields could have been conceived of as an earth goddess.

    The child Plutas, who appears on several coins with Eirene also holding cornucopia (Pausanias, *op. cit.*, I, 8, 2; *Ancient Coins*, p. 147, pl. DD, nos. 9 and 10), was thought of as an issue of Demeter (Persephone) and Iasion (Hesiod, *Theognis*, 969 f; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 263; C. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 905). But Ishtar is more associated with children than Demeter,

Ishtar was considered as 'the mother of the children of the city' (*ERE*, vol. VII, p. 430). She is shown in art as suckling a child (*ERE*, vol. VII, p. 430; Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-154 and 375). This aspect of her character makes the case for her identification with the female on the seal stronger.

A similar female figure and a child may be noticed on another seal published by A. Cunningham. However, here a male appears between them. A crescent is seen above these figures (*NC*, 1892, pl. XI, no. 15) (fig. 33). The latter feature may distinguish her as Ishtar, or may suggest the influence of Aphrodite, conceived of also as the goddess of marriage and family (Aphrodite Pandemos) (C. B. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

She was also the goddess of the underworld (*ibid.*). However, it is not certain whether she was regularly connected (like Persephone, i.e., Demeter) with Hades, the lord of the nether region and the possessor of wealth (Pluton) (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 401). Ishtar, however, was certainly considered as the giver of prosperity (*ERE*, vol. VII, p. 431).

The above interpretations of the devices on the two seals may indicate the use of cornucopia as a cognizance of Ishtar (Nanā). We must, however, admit that the *polos* head-dress and the cornucopia of the female on the second seal may connect her with Tyche, or Demeter or perhaps Ardokhsho (in the Kushāṇa context), while the composition 'female, child and male' reminds us of that of several Gandharan sculptures showing Hārītī, one or more child, and Pañchika, her husband.

Hārītī, originally a personification of small pox and thus a devourer of children, later became the giver (and protectress) of them. Pañchika was the general of the army of Yakshas, whose king was Kubera, the god of wealth and lord of the Northern quadrant. Perhaps because of his association with the god of wealth, Pañchika himself became the custodian of wealth, as is suggested by a Peshawar sculpture where he holds a knobbed staff and a purse (H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, fig. 345).

Hārītī's association with the custodian of wealth was likely to influence the people's concept about her. That it was actually the case is betrayed by the image from Skārah Ḍherī, which represents her with a child sucking at her left breast and also with an object which looks like an elongated purse (a transformation of cornucopia ?), a sign of plenty (*East and West*, 1964, vol. XV, fig. 19 of the plates between pp. 56 and 57) (fig. 37).

Thus the female on the first and the second seals may well personify the concept of Hārītī-Tyche (or Hārītī-Demeter or Hārītī-Ardokhsho). It should, however, be noted here that the male on the second seal carries not only a staff or spear, like Pañchika, but also a vessel from which flames of fire are rising. A deity carrying flames in a similar way is described on some Kushāṇa coins as Pharro (*CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVIII, nos. 25, 26, etc.). He is shown on some other Kushāṇa pieces as holding a purse (*ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, no. 28). This numismatic evidence suggests a fusion between the ideas of Pañchika or Kubera and Pharro. Pharro personified *kavaem khvareno*, an Iranian concept of royal good fortune (J. Rosenfield, *op.*

cit., pp. 96 and 198-199; E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, p. 818), while the god of wealth Vaiśravana (Kubera-Vaiśravana) was described in the *Mahāmāyūri* as the guardian deity of the Tukhāras (related to the Yüeh-chih, to which the Kushāṇas belonged). Hence the fusion between these aspects of the deities was possible in the Kushāṇa age. L. Bachhofer has already shown that Hārītī and Pañchika can be co-related with Ardokhsho and Pharro (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1937, *ns*, vol. XIII, pp. 6-15).

It appears that J. Rosenfield may be substantially, though not fully, correct in identifying the male and female on the second seal respectively as Pharro and Ardokhsho (J. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 102). A relief from Takth-i-Bāhī also represents a seated Hārītī-Tyche (or Demeter or Ardokhsho) carrying *polos* and a cornucopia and accompanied by a child and a seated Pañchika-Pharro holding a vessel and having a man above his shoulders displaying a purse (J. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, fig. 78).

96. H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, pp. 67-68; I. Gerschevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, p. 141. J. Harmatta has tried to trace the name *Apdoχpo* to an Old Iranian **Ardvi vaχshā* and apparently thinks that here *Ardvi* refers to Ardvi Sūra Anāhita and *vaχsha-* signifies "sprinkling, wetting, (and) watering". He suggests that Ardokhsho was a local East Iranian deity, identifiable with Anāhita (*Acta Orientalia*, 1960, vol. XI, pp. 198-200).
97. *NC*, 1893, p. 119; pl. VIII, nos. 2, 3, etc.
98. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. I, no. 1; pl. II, no. 6; pl. VI, no. 1; etc.
99. *Ibid.*, pl. III, nos. 1-4; etc.
100. See also above n. 37.
101. *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 432.
102. J. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
103. If A. Cunningham was right in identifying her as Yamunā (A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaun to Bihar in 1875-76 and 1877-78*, vol. XI, p. 17 and pl. VI), the mount of the deity should be recognised as a tortoise.
104. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 202-203 and pl. LXIX; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The History of Bengal*, vol. I—*Hindu Period*, p. 451; etc.
105. *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1913, p. 290.
106. *Sāradātilaka Tantra*, ch. VIII; N. K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
107. The *Tantrasāra* translated in A. and E. Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, p. 36. See also K. Āgamavāgīśa (compiler), *Bṛihat Tantrasāra* (edited by U. N. Mukhopādhyāya and S. C. Mukhopādhyāya) (10th edition), *Bhuvaneśvarī-strotram*, 13 and 14; p. 468. Here the name of Padmā occurs in place of that of Lakshmī.
108. *JUPHS*, 1949, vol. XXII, p. 152; *IHQ*, 1946, vol. XXII, p. 154.
109. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pl. LVI, in the centre of the first row of figures.
110. *Ibid.*, pl. LVI; *JUPHS*, 1949, vol. XXII, p. 152; B. N. Mukherjee, *The*

Kushāṇa Genealogy (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 56 f.

111. *JUPHS*, 1949, vol. XXII, p. 152.
112. This evidence goes against the belief that the image of Durgā, found at Bhumara, datable to the 6th century A.D., is the oldest representation of the goddess (*IHQ*, 1945, vol. XXI, pp. 228-229; see also *ibid.*, 1946, vol. XXII, p. 154).
113. Certain features of this sculpture, like the treatments of the garments and the face (especially of the eyes), posture of the body, etc., can be compared with some characteristics noticeable in a number of datable images of the early Kushāṇa period.
114. One of the two other similar pieces (*NC*, 1894, p. 282 and pl. X, no. 13) was described by A. Cunningham. He described the male on the obverse as a king seated on a "lion-throne" and the female on the reverse as a goddess seated on a "lion-throne". We have examined this piece and are convinced that A. Cunningham's description is not fully correct. The goddess sits on a lion. The attributes (trident and drum) of the enthroned male on the obverse certainly connects him with Śiva. He is either a deified monarch or Śiva himself (shown as a king). Does Śiva on our coin (fig. 35) wear a crown ?
115. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVI, nos. 12, 13; pl. XXVIII, no. 14; etc. Did the stylistic treatment of the *ḍamaru*, as held by Śiva on Kushāṇa coins, evolve out of that of the thunderbolt held by him on some Kushāṇa pieces ? (*ibid.*, pl. XXVI, no. 17; pl. XXVIII, no. 15).
116. See above n. 112.
117. *ERE*, vol. VII, p. 432.
118. *Zend-Avesta, Ābān Yast*, III, 13; J. Darmesteter (translator), *The Zend-Avesta*, pt. II—The *Sīrōzahs*, *Yasts*, and *Nyāyis*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXIII, (reprint, 1965), p. 57.
119. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Edition), pp. 332 f; F. E. Pargiter (translator), *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. 465-522; see also M. Seshadri, "Mahishāsuramardinī" (extracted from *The Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Section A—Arts, 1963, vol. XXII), p. 3.
120. R. C. Agrawala, "Goddess Mahishamardinī in Early Indian Art", *Artebus Asie*, 1958, vol. XXI, no. 2, pp. 123-130; M. Seshadri, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 f. In this connection see also *JUPHS*, 1949, vol. XXII, p. 158; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1948, pp. 96-100; *Lalit Kalā*, 1955-56, nos. 1-2, pp. 73-74 and R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 338.

    The testimony of the pre-Gupta Mahishamardinī icons bears out the fallacy in J. N. Banerjea's statement that "extant Mahishamardinī images ...can hardly be dated before the Gupta period..." (R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Classical Age*, p. 442).
121. *JUPHS*, 1949, vol. XXII, p. 158.
122. *Lalit Kalā*, 1955-56, nos. 1-2, pp. 73-74.

123. R. C. Agrawala is inclined to date the plaque to the middle of the 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (*Lalit Kalā*, 1955-56, nos. 1-2, p. 73). He, however, admits in a letter (dated February 10, 1967) addressed to Dr. K. K. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University that though the plaque was excavated at Nagar, its stratification was "not known" (not recorded ?). However, since the Mālavas were active in the area of Rājasthān mostly from the 1st to the 4th century A.D. (J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. cv-cvii; R.C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 164-165), the representation of Mahishamardinī, found at Nagar, identified with the city of the Mālavas (Mālava Nagara) may be tentatively ascribed to the age of the Kushāṇas or of the Guptas. 107101

124. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 86; pl. XXXI, nos. 13 and 14.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 86; see also R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Classical Age*, p. 442.

126. For a full discussion on the iconography of Mahishamardinī, see M. Seshadri, *op. cit.*, pp. 6f. See also A. K. Coomarswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. LXI, no. 208; *DHI*, pp. 134-135, and 500-501; pl. XLIII, no. 4; etc.
We may refer here to another goddess on lion belonging to a different pantheon. Since the early mediaeval period the Jaina goddess Ambikā has sometimes been represented in art as a four-armed deity seated on a cushion marked with the figure of a lion couchant to left and as holding stalks of lotuses in upper hands, a child in the lower right hand and a mango fruit in the lower left hand (Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Painting from Western India*, p. 141 and fig. 46). The idea of divine maternity, as revealed by this iconic representation of Ambikā, reminds one of the similar concept of Ambā as well as of Nanā known from much earlier periods. It may also be pointed out that, like the term *Ambā*, the word *Ambikā* means, *inter alia*, "mother".

Chapter III

STYLE AND TECHNIQUE

A

The device of 'goddess on lion with fillet, sceptre and crescent' thus marks an important stage in the development of the concepts and iconic characteristics of the Devī, the consort of Śiva. Nanā on lion with a sceptre and crescent, as she appears on Huvishka's coins, does not betray any influence of Ambā and Tyche, as does her representation on a lion, with a fillet, a sceptre, and a crescent, noticeable in the coin-type of Kaneshko. This inequality in the imbibing of traits of other deities, when judged against the background of the general assimilative character of early Indian art and culture, should date Huvishka's species earlier than the coin-type of Kaneshko.

This chronology is supported by the differences in the stylistic treatment of the figures of the goddesses on these coins. The treatment of the hair of Huvishka's Nanā, with a fillet placed diagonally around the head (figs. 10 and 10A), is more Hellenistic[1] than that of the hair of Kaneshko's Nanā, with locks hanging down her shoulders. These locks and perhaps also the "wreath" like appearance of hair above the forehead are comparable with similar features of the icon of Hārītī from Skārah Ḍherī dated in the year 399[2] (fig. 37). The locks of Kaneshko's Nanā also resemble, to some degree, the matted hair of Oesho or Śiva on a number of coins[3] which are considered as prototypes of a series of Sasanian species.[4]

The concave folds of the attire of Huvishka's Nanā may be compared with those of the garments noticeable in several early Gandharan sculptures.[5] On the other hand, the drapery folds of Kaneshko's Nanā, indicated by convex ridges or bands, remind one of those of some figures produced by artists of the later Gandhāra school.[6] Ridges, though not convex, are also seen in the robe of the Hārītī image from Skārah Ḍherī, dated in the year

399[7] (fig. 37). If this date can be referred either to the reckoning of 58 B.C. or to the so-called Old Śaka Era, started in or about the second half of the 2nd century B.C.,[8] the icon of Hārītī would not be earlier than the 3rd century A.D.[8a]

The triangular pattern of some folds, a characteristic of later Gandharan sculptures,[9] can be also traced in the lower portion of the garment of Kaneshko's Nanā. The diaphanous treatment of her drapery aligns her with some representations of the later Gandhāra school.[10] It must, however, be admitted that the garments of some figures on early Kushāṇa coins are transparent.[11]

On the other hand, in the rigid and frontal pose,[12] neatly arranged incisions of hair-lines above the forehead (?),[13] and the staring eyes[14] of Kaneshko's Nanā one may trace Iranian (Parthian?) influence. It is interesting to find a similar treatment of the surviving eye of an icon of the same goddess unearthed at Hatra[15] (fig. 39). Notable examples of intrusion of these stylistic features into eastern regions may be seen in the treatment of the eyes of an image of Ardokhsho from Begram[16] (fig. 40), and of that of Hārītī from Skārah Ḍherī[17] (fig. 37).

The lotus under the feet of Nanā in the coin-type of Kaneshko (which is absent from the device on Huvishka's coins) suggests a gradual Indianisation in the style of presentation of the goddess on lion. The same process is evident in the figure of the goddess on Chandragupta I's coins[18] (figs. 26 and 28). Several coins of Chandragupta II[19] (figs. 29 and 30) and Kumāragupta I[20] (fig. 31), depicting the goddess seated on lion in different *āsanas* and holding a lotus, mark a yet further stage in the process of Indianisation of the style.

En passant we may point out that the technique of indicating the head-dress only by dots, as noticed on the obverse of Kaneshko's coin in question, is not discernible on early Kushāṇa coins, including the issues of V'ima, Kanishka I and Huvishka.[21] Such dots may, however, be noticed within the outlines of coronet of the royal bust on some of the coins of the last-mentioned monarch.[22]

The symbol ( ) on Kaneshko's piece in question has its triangular shaped lower part not open like that ( ) in Huvishka's type under discussion. The lower part of Kaneshko's symbol is closed by two lines meeting at an angle

pointing downwards. Similar symbols can be noticed on Chandragupta I's coins[23] ( ).

On the evidence of certain symbols having been peculiar to certain rulers of North-West India and nearby areas in the 1st century A.D.,[24] those on Kushāṇa coins may be interpreted as personal (or family) badges of different kings (or their mint-masters ?). It is, however, doubtful whether such signs on the Gupta coins had similar meanings. If these are considered as slavish imitations or as having been used for other purposes, we may have here examples of transmutation of symbols.[25]

We have already noted that a Brāhmī *va* appears on the reverse of Kaneshko's piece described above. Such isolated Brāhmī letters are seen on a great number of Gupta coins,[26] but not on the coins of V'ima, Kanishka I, or Huvishka.[27]

Legends on the coins of both Huvishka and Kaneshko are in the Greek script and the Bactrian language. But the Greek letters on Kaneshko's coins are more cursive and slovenly than those on the issues of Huvishka's mints.[28] It is well-known that cursiveness was a comparatively late development in the evolution of the Greek script in North-Western India and Afghanistan.[29]

Thus on stylistic grounds Nanā of Kaneshko should be dated sometime after Huvishka and before Chandragupta I. The latter reigned in early 4th century A.D.,[30] whereas Huvishka ruled, in all probability, in the first or at least in the second half of the 2nd century A.D.[31] Hence Kaneshko's Nanā may be dated to about the 3rd century A.D.

We have already discussed stylistic affinities of the representation of Nanā to some products of the Gandhāra school. It should, however, be remembered that if Kaneshko's Nanā influenced the goddess on lion device adopted by the mint-masters of Chandragupta I, coins of Kaneshko must have been once in circulation in a region later included in the kingdom of that Gupta monarch. Suggested locations of the territories of North India conquered by Chandragupta I's son Samudragupta,[32] as enumerated by Hariṣheṇa, may indicate that he annexed, *inter alia*, parts of Western U.P. including Mathurā.[33] Chandragupta I is not known to have ruled so far in the west as Mathurā. Hence the coins of Kaneshko imitated by the die-cutters of Chandragupta I's mints should have been in circulation in certain areas to the east of Mathurā.

They may even have been minted in such areas. The sensuous treatment of the bulging and elongated abdomen of Nanā in Kaneshko's coin-type may imply the influence of the Mathurā school.[34]

However, the general style of depicting the goddess on lion breathes the air of Gandhāra. So it can also be suggested that these coins bearing the type concerned may have been minted somewhere in Gandhāra, the artists or die-cutters of which locality were vulnerable to the influence of the art of Mathurā.[35] The coins might have reached the regions of Eastern U.P. or Bihar from Gandhāra by way of trade and commerce.

B

The coin of Kaneshko, published by M. F. C. Martin, is of gold and weighs 7·9114 gm.[36] It is well-known that the metrology of the Kushāṇa gold coinage, as introduced by V'ima Kadphises, was based on that of the Roman imperial currency (of the period before the reformation effected by Nero).[37]

Traces of double striking noticeable on blurred faces of some Kushāṇa gold coins[38] and the appearance of two distinct devices on two sides of Kushāṇa gold pieces[39] suggest that they were struck from two separate dies used probably simultaneously. Unfortunately the details of the working of a Kushāṇa mint are not known. However, it may be pointed out that the entirely manually operated system of manufacturing double die-struck coins was not likely to vary basically or completely from one age or country to another.[40] Hence a rough idea of minting Kushāṇa gold coins may be formed on the basis of our knowledge of the methods (or the varieties of the method) of producing coins of this type as had been prevalent in different ages and countries prior to the introduction of the use of non-human or mechanical force. Minute observations of a good number of Kushāṇa gold coins may also hint at some aspects of the production technique.

Kaneshko's gold coins are known to have generally contained some percentage of alloy.[41] The molten metal for their 'blanks' could have been mixed with prescribed quantities of baser materials.[41a] Then the required amounts of the mixed metal were probably poured into circular shaped moulds of regulated

sizes.[42] Alternatively, the molten metal could have been first cast into sheets or plates of required thickness and then the latter could have been cut into round pieces of the size of the coined money.[43] The weight of the blanks might have been then checked and adjusted according to the specified standard.[44]

Negative impressions of obverse and reverse types (and inscriptions) could have been engraved, perhaps following an original design, on two separate 'dies' of soft steel or bronze prepared by cutting into slices a round bar (of steel or bronze) cast in mould.[45] It would, however, have been more practicable to prepare a positive in wax and then to cover the model or design by molten metal. The device was now transferred into negative and impressed on the gradually hardened metal.[46]

Impressions in relief on Kushāṇa coins suggest that devices in 'dies' were hollowed out. These 'intaglio dies' were probably hardened by heating and then by cooling in water.[47] Later, one of the dies was fixed on or embedded in an anvil. The other die was attached to (or engraved on?) a (rhomboid or an oblong shaped ?) punch.[48]

Each metal 'blank' was heated (if it had been cast in a circular-shaped mould) or at least it was slightly softened by annealing to make it ready to receive the required impressions.[49] It was then set on the die fixed on the anvil, and the die-end of the punch was placed on the slightly molten metal blank.[50]

The fact that reverse types on some Kushāṇa coins are found partly out of flan[51] does not at least indicate a regular use of any mechanical instrument (like a hinge connecting the two dies)[52] to keep the upper die in proper place during the time of minting. Nevertheless, a regular alignment of the obverse and reverse impressions on a great number of Kushāṇa pieces[53] suggests that care was often taken before striking to put the upper and lower devices as parallel to each other.

The actual striking seems to have been done with the help of a hammer. After placing the die-end of the punch on the slightly molten blank already set on the anvil die the other end of the punch was struck with the hammer. As a result both sides of the blank received the required impressions and it was thereby transformed into a coin.[54]

An examination of a large number of Kushāṇa gold pieces

reveals that only a few of them are exactly circular in shape.[55] It appears that the very method of production followed by the Kushāṇa mint-masters made it impossible for the true circle to be obtained, since there was nothing to stop the flan from spreading under the blow.[56]

Unutilised space around the full impression of a reverse device can be noticed on a number of Kushāṇa gold pieces including the one published by M. F. C. Martin (fig. 1).[57] This indicates that in these cases the punch-die or the upper die was smaller than the blank set on and covering the face of the anvil die.

The use of smaller upper die may have originated from the desire for allowing the blank to have enough space to receive the full impression of the reverse device even if there was some oscillation of the punch-die during the time of manually operated production. We should also note that the available evidence in other fields of numismatic research shows that an upper die was less durable than a lower die.[58] So in a given period a Kushāṇa mint might require more upper dies than the lower dies. Hence the smaller size of the punch-die could have lowered the cost of production which would have been otherwise greater than the amount required for manufacturing anvil-dies.

As a result of hard striking by the smaller upper die on the blank its outer marginal part outside the area stamped with the relevant device became a little raised. Such concave reverse may be noticed on some early Kushāṇa coins including a few of Kanishka I[59] and also on the coin published by M. F. C. Martin (fig. 1). Persistence of this method of production ultimately resulted in the minting of the scyphate Kushano-Sasanian coins.[60]

A concave reverse implies a convex obverse. It is interesting to note that portions of marginal inscription or device do not appear on some Kushāṇa coins.[61] Again, the distance between the circular marginal legend and the outer edge of the flan is not the same on all parts of the obverse of certain gold pieces including the one described by M. F. C. Martin.[62] These features tempt us to infer that while the reverse was being made concave in shape by striking the blank with a smaller upper die, the outer edge of the lower side of the blank came to be too raised to come into contact with the marginal inscription or device of the lower die. And if at the time of placing the smaller reverse die on the

blank enough care was not taken to leave proportionate open space around it and between its outer edge and that of the blank, the lower side of the latter would suffer from the second type of defect noted in this paragraph. The masters of the Kushano-Sasanian mints seem to have obviated the first defect by using obverse dies having inscriptions and devices engraved within a space much smaller than the faces of the dies as well as blanks.[63]

Faults in technique of production may have actually told on the stylistic merit of coins. Flat or rather unrealistic treatment of the breasts of Kaneshko's Nanā was probably due to a defect in the engraving of the die concerned. However, alloys in metal were also sometimes responsible for the crudeness in execution. An examination of the specific gravity of the gold piece noticed by M. F. C. Martin shows that it really contains some amount of alloy. Nevertheless, this coin is, on the whole, fairly well executed.

No discussion on the technique of minting Kushāṇa coins is complete without referring to the fragment of a clay mould found at Atranji Khera in the Etah district, U.P. This mould seems to have been rectangular in shape. It probably had different rows of sockets. The sockets, which have escaped mutilation, are seen impressed with the negatives of Kushāṇa coin-devices showing the standing Moon god, an elephant rider, etc. Four such sockets form a row. From an opening at one of the edges four channels lead to the first four sockets, which are connected with one another and also with the sockets of the second row with smaller channels.[64]

It appears that the sockets were created by pressing on a specially made clay tablet old coins or coin-devices cast in clay or metal.[65] Perhaps metal devices were used to impress the channels on the tablet.

Two tablets, one carrying obverse types and the other reverse devices, were joined face to face and were probably plastered over on the outside with a paste of clay and other binding materials. The set of moulds was then baked in a furnace.[66] Molten metal was poured through the opening at the edge. The metal reached the sockets through the channels. The moulds were then allowed to cool down. Later these were broken up and the coins manufactured from the metal which had reached the sockets were recovered.[67]

There were many drawbacks in this technique of minting. Part of the molten metal could have been lost in the channels and/or extra lumps of metal could have remained attached to some (or even all) of the coins. Thus weight of all coins could not be regulated. The devices were not always well impressed on coins. Moreover, one set of moulds could be used for only one operation. We are also not sure whether the Atranji Khera mould was used in a genuine Kushāṇa mint or was a work of an ancient forger.[68] If the first alternative is correct, the Kushāṇa mint-masters should be considered to have been used to manufacture of coins by casting as well as by striking.

NOTES

1. See C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (2nd edition), pl. XIII, no. 2; pl. XXVII, no. 14; pl. XXXVI, no. 1; pl. LIII, no. 1; pl. LV, no. 2; etc.
2. *ASI, AR*, 1903-4, pp. 254 f; *East and West*, 1964, vol. XV, fig. 19 of the plates between pp. 56 and 57.
3. *NC*, 1893, pl. VIII, no. 13; *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, pl. I, no. 2; *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXIX, no. 12.
4. *Arethuse*, 1928, vol. V, p. 27.
5. A. K. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1st edition), pl. XXIV, no. 90; pl. XXV, no. 91; etc.
6. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. II, fig. 63.
7. See above n. 2. Rudimentary forms of ridges may be noticed in the folds of the garments of the icon of Nanai found at Hatra (*East and West*, 1960, vol. XI, p. 164 and pl. 24). Such a feature is prominently shown in the draperies of a goddess and a Parthian noble man (?) represented in a terracotta plaque (R. Ghrishman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians*, p. 107 and fig. 123).
8. B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A study in Indo-Parthian History, Appendix II*. The eras known to have been used in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent in the early centuries of the Christian Era are the reckoning of 58 B.C., the so-called Old Śaka Era, and the Kanishka Era (=the era of A.D. 78 ?). There is no evidence of the use of the Seleucid Era in this region and period, even though such a suggestion is often made. (In this connection see J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period, An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, pp. 19, 20, 55-101; etc.).

8a. In this connection see K. W. Dobbins, "A Note on the Hāritī Image from Skārah Ḍherī, Year 399," *East and West*, 1967, vol. *XVII*, pp. 268-272).

9. G. H. Ingholt, *The Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, p. 40.
10. S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 76.
11. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVI, nos. 9 and 15; pl. XXVII, no. 16; etc.
12. For an example see the bas-relief, found at Susa, representing Artabanus V handing over the ring of power to a local satrap, Khwasak. The bas-relief is datable to A.D. 215 (R. Ghrishman, *op. cit.*, p. 56 and fig. 70).
13. For examples see the bust of Zabdibol (c. A.D. 100) from Palmyra (*ibid.*, p. 69 and fig. 81) and that of Jarhai (2nd-3rd century A.D.) discovered in the same locality (*ibid.*, p. 77 and fig. 89).
14. For examples see the bust of Maximus Aristides (2nd-3rd century A.D.) found at Palmyra (*ibid.*, p. 76 and fig. 88) and a woman's head unearthed at that place (*ibid.*, p. 83, fig. 95).
15. *East and West*, 1960, vol. XI, p. 164, pl. 24.
16. R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les kouchans, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XII, pl. XVII. The deep incisions of the hair-lines of this image are also noteworthy.
17. See above n. 2.

18. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa,* pl. III, no. 7.
19. *Ibid.*, pl. IX, nos. 7, 12, etc.
20. *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, nos. 10, 12, etc.
21. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXV, nos. 7, 9, etc.; pl. XXVI, nos. 7, 8, etc.
22. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVII, nos. 9, 16, etc.
23. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. III, nos. 12, 14, etc.
24. For examples we may refer to the symbol of Gondophares I and to that of Soter Megas.
25. Transmutation of devices is not unknown to Indian coinage. The figure of the boar incarnate of Vishṇu on Ādivarāha's coins was gradually changed on imitated pieces to that of an ass.
26. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. V, nos. 10, 11, etc.
27. *CCGSKBI*, pll. XXVI-XXVII; etc.
28. Compare *ibid.*, pl. XXVII, no. 9 with fig. 1.
29. In this connection see our article in the *Indian Studies, Past & Present*, 1960-61, vol. II, pp. 5-7.
30. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar (editors), *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 121.
31. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), pp. 467 f; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 68-69.
32. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I (1st edition), p. 257.
33. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 534-536.
34. S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and figs. 55, 62 and 64.
35. We may here refer to some ivory plaques, found at Begram, which betray the impact of the Mathuran art (or which may even have been the products of the Mathurā school) (*ibid.*, p. 93 and fig. 67). The Begram region, which lay not far from the generally accepted geographical limits of Gandhāra, might have been the home of some of the artists trained in the Gandhāra school.
36. *NS*, 1931-33, no. XLIV, p. 8.
37. In this connection see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, pp. 794-795. See also *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 63f and S. Prakash and R. Singh, *Coinage in Ancient India, A Numismatic, Archaeological and Metallurgical Study of Ancient Indian Coins*, pp. 134-146.
38. *NC*, 1892, pl. IX, no. 12; pl. XI, no. 2; etc.
39. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVIII, nos. 117 f.
40. In this connection see G. Macdonald, *The Evolution of Coinage*, pp. 57 f; H. W. A. Linecar, *Coins* (2nd edition), pp. 23 f; etc.
41. See *JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, p. 167. The specific gravity of the Indian Museum coins of Kaneshko varies from 17·16 to 18·84 and the percentage of pure gold of his pieces in the same museum varies from 88·6 to 97·5 (*Ibid*). The specific gravity of five coins of Kaneshko in the British Museum, kindly determined by K. A. Howse for my use, varies from 16·89 to 19·55.

41a. *NC*, 1963, p. 224.

42. S. K. Chakravarty, *Studies in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 114; *CCIM*, pp. 193-194; G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

43. S. K. Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 114; T. Hanson, *Coin Collecting*, pp. 13-14. In this connection see the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 6 and 7 for information on a similar method of preparing blanks in Mughal mints.

44. Such a practice was followed at least in the mediaeval age (Abūl Fazl-i-'Allāmī, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 7).

45. G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65; J. Del Monte, *Fell's International Coin Book*, p. 21. It was perhaps also possible to engrave the negative impression of a design on a block of stone and then to use the latter as a die (In this connection see also *NC*, 1922, p. 2).

46. It was also possible to cut a positive design in high relief on the lower end of a bar or punch, and then to punch it on soft metal to produce a die with the negative impression in bas-relief. This method, known as hubbing, allowed die-cutters to have identical dies from one master punch (*NC*, 1922, pp. 18-22; 1963, p. 221). The positive design could be impressed, while the bar or punch carrying it was hot, on a piece of hard wood. The latter could then possibly serve the purpose of a die (In this connection see also *ibid.*, 1922, p. 2). It is difficult to ascertain whether this system was known to the mint-masters of the Kushāṇas.

47. As this technique is simple and does not, at least essentially, require any mechanical force, it could have been followed in earlier ages. It has been in practice also in modern or semi-modern mints (J. Del Monte, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

48. In this connection see G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 62; C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; etc.

49. G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 66; S. K. Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

50. C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

51. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVIII, no. 133; *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVIII, no. 14; etc.

52. That Roman mints used hinge "is proved by the discovery, in Gaul, of an obverse and a reverse die of Constans I, still so connected. Alternatively, the upper die might be so constructed as to fit on to the lower one like the lid of a box, as is the case with a pair of dies of Faustina Junior, now in the Lyons Museum" (G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 66). In this connection see also G. Macdonald's article "Fixed and Loose Dies in Ancient Coinage" in the *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 178 f.

53. This observation is based on a personal examination of hundreds of Kushāṇa coins in the British Museum, London, Indian Museum, Calcutta, and several other collections.

54. For a description of this monetary technique, see C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

55. See above n. 53. The size of the gold coin published by M. F. C. Martin is 24·685 × 23·805 mm.

56. In this connection see also H. W. A. Linecar, *op. cit.*, p. 25. There is no evidence of the use of any type of collar around the dies to check the blanks

from spreading out. The edges of Kushāṇa coins do not indicate that they were even milled. The edges are often uneven due to defect in production.

57. See also *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVI, nos. 7 and 12; pl. XXVIII, no. 20; pl. XXIX, nos. 8 and 13; etc.
58. S. K. Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 114; G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 69; T. Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
59. For an example we can refer to a coin of Kanishka I, with Oesho on the reverse, now in the collection of the late Narendra Nath Singh Singhi of Calcutta. See also *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVII, no. 10; pl. XXIX, nos. 8, 12 and 13; etc.
60. *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pl. I, nos. 2f.
61. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVII, no. 9; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 36; etc.
62. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXV, no. 9; pl. XXVI, no. 7; pl. XXIX, no. 10; etc.
63. See above no. 60.
64. B. Sahni, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, p. 43; pl. VI, figs. 126 and 127.
65. See *ibid.*, p. 22; *NC*, 1922, p. 2.
66. "The Atranji Khera mould seems to have been baked in a furnace at a temperature of over 600°C but the heat was probably not maintained long enough to turn the colour of the interior" to red. Outwardly this mould is of bright red colour, but the deeper layers are dark grey." (B. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 43).
67. For different techniques of casting coins in ancient India, see *ibid.*, pp. 18f.
68. B. Sahni has observed that the fact that the coins cast in the Atranji Khera mould "were not all of one kind makes one suspect a forgery" (*ibid.*, p. 44).

    There is a clay mould in the collection of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad, which displays only one impression of the reverse of a coin-type of the Kushāṇa monarch V'ima Kadphises. This mould is said to have been found at a place called Jhusi. It is not certain whether it was used in a regular Kushāṇa mint or was a work of a forger.

    We also face the same problem with regard to a circular coin-mould (diameter ·8″) found at Khokhrakot near Rohtak. The mould, which betrayst races of luting, displays a representation of Ardokhsho and one of the known monograms of Huvishka (*JNSI*, 1953, vol. XV, pp. 68-69). "Genuine Kushāṇa gold coins have a sharpness of outlines, which would probably not have come on a cast from a mould like the present one" (*ibid.*, p. 69).

Chapter IV

RULERS, ARTISTS AND ENVIRONMENT

As indicated above, M. F. C. Martin's coin was struck later than the period of Huvishka (from the year 28 to the year 60 of the era of Kanishka I).[1] So Kaneshko, mentioned in the obverse legend apparently as the king reigning at the time of its minting, should have ruled, or at least continued to rule, after Huvishka. Consequently, this Kaneshko, i.e. Kanishka, cannot be identified with Kanishka I (whose known dates range from the year 2 to the year 23 of the era of Kanishka I)[2] or Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 (of the reckoning of Kanishka I)[3]. Hence this monarch should be called Kanishka III.

The existence of a third ruler of the name of Kanishka has already been suggested on the basis of the evidence of the coin published by M. F. C. Martin and also of some other data.[4] To him one may ascribe some gold coins bearing the name *Kaneshko Koshano*, i.e. Kanishka, the Kushāṇa,[5] and having the figure of the king at altar on the obverse and either an enthroned Ardokhsho or Oesho with bull on the reverse.[6] We have already adduced reasons elsewhere to suggest that the Sahr-i-Bahlol seal impression referring to Kaneshko, i.e. Kanishka, should be attributed to the same monarch.[7]

It appears that in or by about the time of this Kanishka III the fusion of different aspects of the concepts of Nanā (Ishtar-Anāhita), Ambā, Tyche and perhaps also Artemis (and/or Aphrodite ?) had taken place. Such intermingling of ideas pertaining to different deities worshipped by peoples, geographically separated from one another, could have been made possible through migrations, conquests, colonisation, or trade and commerce.

The north-western region of the Indian subcontinent and some nearby areas witnessed in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. the invasions and migrations of and colonisation by foreign peoples including the Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians.[8]

It would have been only natural for them, who dominated that part of the world for a long time,[9] to have social, religious and cultural intercourse with local inhabitants.[10] Hellenic and Iranian influences in Gandhāra art bear out the traits of such fusions in one of the several possible spheres of contact.[11] The appearance of non-Indian gods and goddesses as well as deities of hybrid character[12] on coins and in sculptures of the zone and period in question also alludes to the same process of cultural evolution.

That such syncretistic movements were in force before the days of the Kushāṇas is evident from our discussion in Chapter II.[13] These, however, gathered momentum in a more congenial atmosphere created by the Kushāṇa empire.

The Kushāṇas, who built up an empire stretching from Central Asia to at least Southern Bihar, united under one political hegemony different heterogenous ethnic elements. Some groups of the Kushāṇa subjects lived at great distances from one another. This unification of a great part of Asia under the Kushāṇas probably offered to a vast area the security and freedom of movement so necessary for fruitful exchange of ideas and successful transaction of commerce.

Certain sources suggest that the Kushāṇas profited greatly from commercial transactions with the Roman Orient.[14] The latter's sea-borne trade with Shen-tu or the lower Indus region of the Kushāṇa empire probably declined by c. A.D. 150, mainly due to the development of the direct sea-routes to South India and the regular use of such routes by Roman sailors[15] (Appendix III). Nevertheless, the Kushano-Roman overland trade might have continued, though in a very much restricted manner, till the downfall of the imperial Kushāṇa power.[16] Moreover, as some of the Central Asian and Indian trade routes ran through the Kushāṇa empire,[17] the merchants of its different provinces could have participated in internal commerce and also in direct or indirect transactions with some of the neighbouring countries.[18]

The *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* (better known as the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*) clearly indicates that mariners even of the Roman empire visited Scythia (or the lower Indus area) during the Parthian (i. e., Indo-Parthian) rule.[19] Discoveries in North-Western India of Hellenistic sculptures and cult statues,

datable to the early centuries of the Christian Era,[20] allude to the presence of Hellenic or Hellenised artists in that area and period. The *Acts of Thomas* actually states that St. Thomas came to the court of Gūdnaphar (the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I) as a carpenter.[21]

Interesting articles of beauty and worth,—of Indian, Chinese, Egyptian, Syrian, and Western origins—have been found in two sealed rooms of a building of the Kushāṇa period at Begram (in Afghanistan).[22] These are probably the remains of an entrepot belonging to a mercantile community or a customs depot where taxes on trade were realised in kinds. Whatever may have been the real character of the building, it seems certain that art objects of Indian and foreign origins reached the heart of the Kushāṇa empire through trade and commerce.[23]

Archaeological data indicate the existence of Greek as well as Hellenised settlements in North-Western India and Afghanistan even from a period prior to the age of the Kushāṇas.[24] In the far-flung empire of the latter also lived peoples of different ethnic origins professing various religious faiths.[25]

As barriers to thoughts were removed in this microcosm of the ancient period due to the freedom of movement in a vast territory and the consequent growth of commerce,[26] even the geographically and ethnically unrelated peoples found themselves in a position to influence one another. Rich traders and the affluent class of the society could employ Indian and also foreign artists (including those having the knowledge of Hellenistic and West Asiatic techniques and styles) to translate the results of the fusions of religious concepts into art, the handmaid of religion.[27]

The receptive and catholic attitudes of Kushāṇa Kanishka I and his successors to religion are well attested by the appearance on their coins of diverse deities of different religious faiths.[28] Two copper coins show a king, recognised as Huvishka by A. Cunningham,[29] as kneeling before goddess Nanā[30] (fig. 36). An intaglio seal, represents a royal figure, perhaps a Kushāṇa monarch, as receiving a diademed fillet from a deity identifiable as Manao Bago[31] (fig. 32) (Appendix V). The official temple of the Kushāṇas at Mat near Mathurā has yielded *inter alia* an icon of a Brahmanical goddess,[32] while another of their dynastic sanctuaries at Surkh-Kotal in Afghanistan is considered to have

been dedicated to the Iranian cult of Fire.[33] These and analogous testimonies suggest that the eclectic Kushāṇa rulers were probably not inclined to impose restrictions on tendencies towards syncretism.[34]

That such syncretistic movements actually took place is surely indicated by the hybrid character and attributes of different deities depicted on several Kushāṇa coins.[35] These clearly suggest that meetings of reciprocal minds of two different peoples, with similar concepts regarding two deities of separate origins, often resulted in tendencies to identify them with each other and to impose one's attributes and cognizances on the other.[36]

Attempts to express syncretistic iconic concepts in visible forms were made in the ateliers of the Kushāṇa empire by artists under the influences of diverse Indian and foreign schools. These favoured the development of art and iconography, essentially reconciling in nature and form. One object of such an art is the figure of Nanā Ambā-Tyche-Artemis (?) (and/or Aphrodite ?) on lion. (In this connection see also Appendix IV).

NOTES

1. *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp. 390-391.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 386-388; *British Museum Quarterly*, 1964, vol. XXVIII, pp. 44-45.
3. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 165.
4. *CCIM*, vol. I, pp. 87-88; *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1908, ns, vol. IV, pp. 81-93; *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 211-212; *Arethuse*, 1928, vol. V, pp. 25-27; *JAOS*, 1936, vol. LVI, pp. 430-439; J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period, An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India From the 1st Century B. C. to the 3rd Century A. D.*, pp. 306-307; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 80 f; etc.
5. *NC*, 1893, p. 118; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960, vol. XXIII, p. 51.
6. *NC*, 1893, pl. VIII, nos. 1-11 and 16-18. Some very crude pieces may be considered as later imitations. One copper coin also can be ascribed to this ruler (*ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 2).
7. *Summary of Papers, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists*, 1964, p. 171.
8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, pp. 138 f.
9. *Ibid.*
10. In this connection see *ibid.*, pp. 220-221.
11. *The Encyclopaedia of World Art*, vol. VI, cols. 27-31.
12. *CCGSKBI*, pp. LVIII f; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 786.
13. A female figure holding a vessel (patera ?) and a wheel on some coins of Maues (*CCGSKBI*, pl. XVI, no. 3) can be recognised as a representation of Ishtar (Nanā) (Appendix IV). The group of the Śakas or Scythians, to which Maues belonged, might have come to India and its borderlands from Central Asia in the 2nd or 1st century B.C. Maues himself is datable to the 1st century B.C. By this time Nanā had probably become a popular deity in an area of Central Asia. Hence it is not impossible that the Śakas or Scythians were responsible for introducing Ishtar to the land of Ambā. (Appendix IV). After this it was natural that the similarities between their underlying concepts would tend towards the identification of each with the other.
14. See our article ("Impact of Foreign Trade on Political History—An Illustration") in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-1966, vol. V, pp. 181 f.
15. *Ibid.*
16. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 136 f.
17. See above n. 14.
18. See above nn. 14 and 16.
19. *Periplus*, sec. 38.
20. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (1955), pp. 180, 189, 191 and 193-194; figs. 1, 20, 24B, 27, 29A, 30A and B, 31B; etc.

21. A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, pp. 65-66.
22. M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.
23. It is not known whether the icon of Ardokhsho (fig. 40), found at a late Kushāṇa stratum at Begram (R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans, Memories de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan,* vol. XII, pl. XV), was a product of an indigenous or a foreign sculptor.
24. *Taxila*, vol. I, pp. 39 f; *Times*, London, February 22, 1965; etc. See also W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), pp. 356 f.
25. R. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, p. 177; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp. 368-371; B. N. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, pp. 136 f.
26. R. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 and 180 f.
27. In this connection see H. Buchthal, "The Western Aspects of Gandhāra Sculpture", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1945, vol. XXI, pp. 16f; K. K. Das Gupta, "Foreign Trade and Gandhāra Art", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, pp. 199f; B. Rowland, "A Cycle of Gandhāra", *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1965, vol. LXIII, pp. 114-129; B. Rowland, "Rome and the Kushans: Images of Princes and Gods" (Foreword published in J. Rosenfield's *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. VIII f); M. Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia and Central Asia*, pp. 13 f. and 75 f; etc.

    The relation between trade and art in West Asia itself is emphasised by the fact that emporia like Hatra and Palmyra were also important centres of art activities (M. A. R. Colledge, *The Parthians*, pp. 78-79; *East and West*, 1960, vol. XI, pp. 164 f.).
28. *NC*, 1892, pp. 128 f; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp. 422 f.
29. *NC*, 1892, pp. 117-118.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118; pl. XII, nos. 21-22.
31. *JNSI*, 1966, vol. XXVIII, pp. 60-62.
32. *JUPHS*, 1949, vol. XXII, p. 127.
33. *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 368. See also B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 101, f.n. 111.
34. The coin-device representing Huvishka as kneeling in front of Nanā (*NC*, 1892, pl. XII, nos. 21-22) indicates that she was one of the deities revered by the Kushāṇas. It is not impossible that she was popular among and worshipped by a section of their subjects. The discovery of a stone image of Ardokhsho (fig. 40), who also appears on Kushāṇa coins, at a Kushāṇa level at Begram enhances the probability of the existence of some West Asiatic cults in the Kushāṇa empire.

    The appearance of Nanā on votive clay tablets at Palmyra (H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig and J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre, Bibliothèque alrchéologique et historique,* vol. IX, nos. 238-242, 285 and 286) and her limestone icon (fig. 39) made at Hatra for the benefit of a particular person (*East and West*, 1960, vol. XI, pl. 24 and p. 164) indicate her popularity in

contemporary West Asia. As Palmyra and Hatra were probably important centres of trade, one may try to ascertain whether the trade of the Kushāṇas with the "West" played any part in making Nanā and other West Asian deities popular or more well-known among the Kushāṇa subjects. Such a possibility remains even after admitting that Nanā may have been known to North-Western India and thereabout from an earlier period (see above n. 13).

35. *NC*, 1892, pp. 128 f; pll. VI f.
36. These tendencies formed the basis of the growth of syncretism in iconology.

Chapter V

EPILOGUE

"Nanā on lion" thus made a distinct contribution to the development of the iconographic concepts of the Devī. One of her forms (viz., Durgā on lion), popular also in modern times, can be traced back to several plastic representations of the West Asian deity Ishtar (Nanā) (as the goddess on lion).

The word *Nanā* itself may *inter alia* mean "mother",[1] as does the term *Ambā*[2], which also denotes the consort of Śiva. The term *Nanā* or an expression philologically related to it seems to be alluded to by the name of the Devī in one of her *pīṭhas*.[3] Related forms can also be traced in different languages.[4]

The coins bearing the figure of Nanā, one of which is the main subject of our discussion, were probably known in an early period as *Nāṇaka*.[5] In the *Aṅgavijjā* the expression *Ṇāṇaṁ cha māsako*[6] refers to the term *Nāṇa* (which may be related to the name of Ṇaṇā) as signifying a particular class of species. It has been observed that the term *Nāṇaka* was explained by a commentator on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* as denoting the coins having Nāṇā (Nanā ?) as their cognisance (*Nāṇāṅka ṭaṅka*)[7]. However, the phrase *Nāṇaka pārīkshī* (meaning an examiner of coins) in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* itself[8] and the expression *Nāṇaka-mūśi* [referring to (one) who robs (people) of Nāṇakas (= coins or wealth)] in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*[9] probably suggest the use of the word *Nāṇaka* as a general designation for all varieties of species (including the Kushāṇa and other related coins?)[10]. Continuation of the same or the existence of a similar usage in modern times may perhaps be postulated if we can relate the name *Nanā* to the expression *nāṇo*, used in Rājasthān and parts of Western India as meaning "money".[11]

It appears that Nanā made her mark in the land of Indian coins and icons. She might have also influenced certain aspects of the religious concepts of the Devī.

As indicated by the above study, icons, particularly the

syncretistic ones, indeed mirror fusion of thoughts. This is not only true of the Kushāṇa icons, but also of those of later periods and even of the late mediaeval age.[12] Nevertheless, the tendency of imbibing foreign influence in this field of Indian art had never been so pronounced as it was in the days of the Kushāṇas.[13] Testimonies to such influences is provided principally by Kushāṇa coins.[14] The underlying reasons have already been explained above (Chapter IV).

Trade was one of the carriers of thoughts. It helped India to get herself acquainted with the "West". Again, probably through the same or an associated channel of human activities an Indian concept influenced an artist of the Alexandrian (or West Asiatic ?) school of the 1st or 2nd or 3rd century A.D.,[15] who engraved a hermaphrodite figure on a silver dish found at Lampsacus in Turkey.[16] It is not difficult to recognise in this figure a representation of Indian Ārdhanārīśvara (fig. 49) (Appendix VI). Such an identification is strengthened by the evidence of Dio Coccieanus regarding the presence of Indians as well as Bactrians in Alexandria[17] in the 2nd century A.D.,[18] apparently for carrying on trade and commerce.

The probable date of the dish suggests that the relevant Indian concept percolated to Egypt (or West Asia?) in or by the Kushāṇa period.

Several archaeological remains in Central Asia also betray the influence of or connection with the art activities in India of that time.[19]

The artists of the Kushāṇa empire exerted as well as imbibed influence. The Kushāṇa age, like some other periods of Indian history, brought the world to India and presented India to the outside world.

NOTES

1. *Ṛig-veda*, IX, 112, 3; M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1951), p. 526.
2. M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
3. At the *pīṭha* of Hiṅgulā (or Hiṅgulāṭa) or modern Hinglāj situated in the Baluchistan area of West Pakistan the Devī is locally known as Bibi Nānī [D. C. Sircar, "The Śākta Pīṭhas" (reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Socity of Bengal*, Letters, 1948, vol. XIV, no. 1), pp. 43 and 85; see also below n. 4].
4. R. Tarner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, p. 405.
5. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), p. 475, f. n. 4.
6. *Aṅgavijjā, Aṅgamaṇiajjhāo*, sec. I, v. 186; Muni Sri Punyavijayaji (editor), *Aṅgavijjā*, p. 66.
7. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 795.
8. *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, Vyāvahāra-adhyāya*, v. 241.
9. Śūdraka, *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, act I, v. 23. In this connection see also M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 534.
10. In this connection see D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 161; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 795—796; etc. It is interesting to note that one commentator on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛitt* (edited by K. N. Sastri and H. J. Sastri, Banaras, 1886, p. 703) stated that *Nāṇaka* was the name of the *drammas* made (mainly?) of copper. We may also note here that Pṛithvīdhara, a commentator on the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* (edited by H. M. S. Sastri and K. P. Parab, p. 19, f.n.), explained the term concerned as *Śivāṅkaṁ ṭaṅkādivittam.*
11. This information has been kindly supplied to us by Dr. R. C. Agrawala of the National Museum, New Delhi. See also the *Acta Orientalia*, vol. XXIII, nos. 1—2, p. 6.
12. For an example see *Our Heritage*, 1965, vol. XIII, pp. 29f.
13. In this connection see *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 75-96.
14. See *Ibid.*
15. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p.143; M. Rostovzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd edition), vol. I, p. 132.
16. See above n. 4.
17. Dio Coccieanus Chrysostomus, *The 32nd Discourse*, sec. 40.
18. *The 32nd Discourse* was delivered by Dio Coccieanus Chrysostomus in Alexandria probably during the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) (J. W. Cohoon and H. L. Crosby, *Dio Chrysostom*, vol. III, p. 171).
19. *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, vol. VIII, article on Khotan.

Appendix I

THE PROTOTYPE OF AN OBVERSE DEVICE OF KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

'The king standing to his right and offering something on an altar' is a familiar obverse device of the coinage of the Kushāṇas[1] (fig. 1). This was copied on the earlier issues of the Imperial Guptas.[2]

It is well-known that the device in question appeared for the first time in the Kushāṇa series as an obverse type on certain coins of V'ima Kadphises.[3] The appearance of the king on these coins may be described as follows:

> "King standing to his right, wearing a helmet, diademed fillet with flowing ends, long heavy coat reaching below his knees, long trousers and heavy boots; and offering with his right hand something over a small altar" (fig. 53).

A search for the prototype of this device among the coins of contemporary dynasties reveals that similar types really occur on some pieces of the royal Arsacid family. Attention may be drawn to certain coins published by W. Wroth.

These coins can be described as follows:

Obverse—Bust of king; border of dots.

Reverse—Male figure wearing short tunic; standing to his right; holding in his right hand something over an altar; in field, over the altar, a crescent; oblong border of dots.[4]

This reverse type occurs on several coins belonging to the later group of Volagases I's issues. They were minted in or after A.D. 60.[5]

Another type, similar to that of Kadphises II, appears on certain coins of the Parthian king Gotarzes II, who ruled from c.A.D. 38 to 51. The relevant type has been published by W. Wroth,[6] which can be described as follows:

Obverse—Bust of Gotarzes; border of dots.

Reverse—King wearing helmet, diadem with flowing ends,

long trousers, heavy garments reaching below his knees and probably heavy boots; standing to his right;[7] offering with his right hand something on a small altar; circular borders of dots (fig. 3).

Of the two Parthian reverse types, described above, that occurring on the coins of Gotarzes II is more akin to the Kushāṇa coin-device in question. In both the cases, the king wears helmet, diadem with flowing ends and heavy garments, stands to his right, and offers with his right hand something on a small altar. On the other hand, the male figure on the coins of Volagases I wears short tunic and is shorn of kingly attributes like diadem, etc. This figure does not appear to be a representation of a king.[8]

Thus there cannot be any doubt about the similarity between the devices of Gotarzes II and V'ima. One might have followed the other. Gotarzes II, the only Parthian king to use the device in question, ruled from c.A.D. 38 to 51. V'ima could well be placed in the middle of the lst century A.D. Hence it was possible for each of them to follow the type of the other.

In ancient East a monarch used to copy a coin-device of a contemporary or semi-contemporary king generally for two reasons. He might want to commemorate a victory over an enemy king by copying his types. Or coins of an imitator could be put into circulation in an area which had been familiar from an earlier period with their prototypes struck by a contemporary or an earlier ruler, who might or might not have been an enemy of the imitator.[9]

Gotarzes II is not known to have defeated the Kushāṇas. Nor is he known to have annexed to his kingdom any territory, which formerly had been under the Kushāṇas and where V'ima's coins containing the device in question might have been in circulation. Actually, Gotarzes II had to face several internal troubles.[10] So there is nothing to indicate his conquest of any Kushāṇa territory.

On the other hand, there is a wealth of evidence to suggest that the Kushāṇas from the time of Kujula encroached on the Arsacid empire.[11] So it was not impossible for V'ima to defeat Gotarzes II and to commemorate this victory by copying a type of the latter. It is also possible that V'ima conquered or inherited

a territory where coins of Gotarzes II bearing the device in question had been in circulation. The latter inference may allude to the rule of Gotarzes II in that area, or may suggest that his coins came there through trade and commerce. V'ima copied the type concerned after coming in contact with the pieces displaying it.

Thus we can conclude that V'ima copied the device under discussion from a type of Gotarzes II. This shows the origin of a device which was very popular with the Kushāṇas. As noted earlier, it also influenced the Gupta coinage.[12]

NOTES

1. *PMC*, vol. I, pll. XVII-XX.
2. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, pll. I & II.
3. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXV, nos. 11-14; *NC*, 1892, pl. V, nos. 9 and 11-13; *CCIM*, vol. I, pl. XI, no. 7; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 36.
4. W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIX, nos. 9 and 10.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. LXIX-L and 187.
6. W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII, no. 21.
7. W. Wroth was definitely wrong when he described the king as "standing facing, looking left" (W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 172). The standing posture of the king on these coins is very similar to that of the monarch on V'ima's species mentioned above. Wroth's descriptions of the coins, sometimes faulty as they are, have not been strictly followed by us.
8. On the reverse side of a class of coins of Artabanus III (c.A.D. 10/11-38) appears a male figure standing to his right and holding patera over an altar (Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, no. 10). But as this figure is naked and has wings, it cannot possibly be the representation of a king. Hence its evidence has not been considered here. It may be a representation of Eros.
9. Sometimes Oriental kings copied devices of older dynasties and even of contemporary ruling classes with whom they had no inimical relation. In these cases the species bearing the prototypes were either internationally important or had been in circulation from a previous age in the dominions of the imitating kings, or both. Thus Roman coin-devices were copied by the Kushāṇas. The Kushāṇas had no political rivalry with the Romans.

   Sometimes, again, a feudatory ruler imitated the coin-devices of his overlord. But, of V'ima and Gotarzes II, none is known to have been a feudatory of the other.
10. W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. LVI-LVII.
11. B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, pp. 77 and 107-108; *Indian Studies Past & Present*, 1963-64, vol. V, pp. 271-272.
12. Incidentally, our conclusion throws some light on the question of the date of Kadphises II. As he copied a device of Gotarzes II, who ruled from c.A.D. 38 to 51, a part of V'ima's career must be placed in or after c.A.D. 38.

    We may add here that on the reverse of a coin published by A. Cunningham one can notice a male figure, sacrificing at an altar, as standing to his left, though not to his right as on coins of V'ima Kadphises and Gotarzes II. The obverse of this piece bears a bust with two faces and also carries the symbols of Soter Megas and V'ima Kadphises (*NC*, 1892, pl. V, no. 14). If Soter Megas is identifiable with V'ima Kadphises, it might have been struck by the latter ruler.

Appendix II

THE DEITY OF PUSHKALĀVATĪ

A well-known gold coin, medal or token, now in the British Museum, has been for a long time a subject of discussion among numismatists and Indologists. It can be described as follows.

Obv. A female figure standing, facing to front, wearing a long robe or chiton probably reaching the feet, which are, however, off the flan; a part of the garment hangs down the left arm and hand, which rests on the left thigh; the right arm half raised (at an angle of 45°) and the right hand raised, forming with the arm another angle of about 45°; the right hand holds the stalk of a half-opened lotus; she wears a mural or turreted crown.

There are two lines of inscriptions in Kharoshṭhī, one on the left and the other on the right of the female figure (fig. 17).

Rev. A humped bull standing to right with the left foreleg ahead of the right and the right hind leg behind the left. The tail, hanging down from the back, is nicely delineated (fig. 17).

A line of Greek legend and a line of Kharoshṭhī inscription can be noticed respectively above and below the bull.[1]

The Greek inscription on the reverse looks like **TAYPOC**. It was deciphered by P. Gardner as 'Tauros'.[2] He read the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the reverse as *Vṛishabha*.[3] E. J. Rapson, however, observed that the correct reading of the latter legend is *(U) Shabhe*.[4] A close examination of the coin or medal convinces one of the veracity of Rapson's suggestion.

A similar examination also confirms Rapson's decipherment of the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the left of the female figure as *(Pa)khalavadidevada*.[5] However, it must be admitted that the last letter can also be read as *ta*.[6]

Neither Gardner nor Rapson read the Kharoshṭhī inscription on the right of the figure. P. L. Gupta, following V. V. Gokhale, holds that it can be deciphered as 𐨪𐨁𐨪. The dots denote the portions which are off the flan, but which can be restored. He proposes, following Gokhale, to read the restored inscription as *aṁbi*, which may mean 'Ambā, Ambikā or simply a mother goddess'.[7]

The first letter of the restored inscription may be *aṁ* but the second does not exactly correspond to any regular form of *bi*.[8] Again, the validity of this reading depends on the correctness of the restoration of the portions of the legend which are supposed to be off the flan. The absence of any other known specimen of the type does not allow us to be sure of such restorations. Moreover, a close examination of the original piece reveals that the proposed restorations are unnecessary and wrong.

The inscription looks like 𐨪𐨪. Though the strokes on the left upper part of the first letter and the left portion of the third are not as distinct as the rest of the legend, they are fairly distinguishable. So the legend consists of three letters. As the inscription on the left of the female figure is read from inside, the one on her right may also be read in the same way. In any case, there need not be any difficulty in reading the first letter from the right as *aṁ*, the second as *pa*, and the third as *e*. Thus the Kharoshṭhī legend, which must be read from right to left, is *aṁpae*.

As discussed by S. Konow, in the Prakrit language employed in the Kharoshṭhī documents of North-Western India the final *e* could represent the genitive inflexion of a feminine stem ending in *a*.[9] In Prakrit *va* can be changed into *pa*,[10] and *ba* can be replaced by *va*.[11] These grammatical characteristics, and the absence of any sign for long vowels in the Kharoshṭhī script, allow us to interpret *aṁpae* as meaning 'of *aṁpa* (or *aṁvā* or *aṁbā*).

As it is universal as well as logical to relate one part of the obverse legend to the other, *aṁpae* may be connected with *(Pa)khalavadi-devada*(or *ta*). The latter expression has already been correctly interpreted to mean 'the deity of Pakhalavadi'.[12] Hence the whole obverse legend can be read as *(Pa)khalavadi devada* (or *ta*) *aṁpae* and may be translated as 'of *Aṁpa* (Amvā or Ambā), the deity of Pakhalavadi'. Pakhalavadi has been

identified with Peukelaotis of Greek and Pushkalāvatī of Indian sources[13] and with the modern Chārsada in West Pakistan.[14] Pushkalāvatī or Pushkarāvatī was a city of ancient Gandhāra.[15]

Thus Aṁpa (or Aṁvā or Aṁbā) was the deity of Pushkalāvatī. The inscription referring to her has obviously an allusion also to the female figure on the obverse. The occurrence of the figure of a bull on the reverse and also the reverse inscription *Tauros* and *Ushabhe*, both meaning 'bull',[16] seem to associate that animal with the female figure or the deity on the obverse.

The bull was considered as the theriomorphic form as well as the mount of the god Śiva.[17] If the suggestion that a statement of Hesychius alludes to the bull as the god of Gandhāra[18] is found acceptable, it may be interpreted as indicating that Śiva was worshipped in that area, which included Pushkalāvatī. Hsüan-tsang noticed, though in a much later period, the existence of a Deva temple outside the west gate of Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti, i.e. Pushkarāvatī or Pushkalāvatī.[19] By the expression *Deva* he could have meant Śiva.[20]

These considerations suggest that the association of Aṁpa, Aṁvā or Aṁbā, the female deity of Pushkalāvatī, with the bull distinguishes her as Śiva's consort. And since *Aṁbā* denotes a consort of Śiva, we should accept that as the name of the deity on the obverse.[21]

The ruins of the city of Pushkalāvatī have been discovered at Chārsada in West Pakistan in the north-western part of the Indo-Pak subcontinent.[22] Since the Kharoshṭhī script was no longer in use in that part of the subcontinent after the 4th or 5th century A.D.[23], the piece in question should be placed in or before that period. On the other hand, a pre-first century B.C. date is perhaps precluded by the occurrence of the lunate *sigma* as well as the peculiar form of *rho* on this medal.[24]

Since the reverse device is probably related to the obverse type, we are unable to accept Rapson's conjecture that the two sides of the piece in question represent reproductions in gold of the designs of two different seals or gems.[25] So far as the evidence of its weight is concerned, the piece may be treated as a half-stater. However, its unique character makes one think that it was never a part of a regular currency. It may be a special issue made by the guild or local authorities of the city of Pushkalāvatī.

The representation of the goddess of Pushkalāvatī as standing with one hand on the upper part of the left thigh and the other hand holding a lotus is noticeable not only on this medal. She appears on some coins of the Azes group (see above p. 14). It is remarkable that the bull, the theriomorphic representation and also the mount of Śiva, appears on the reverse of the coins as well as the medal. On several pieces of the later Indo-Greek ruler Peukolaos (or Peucolaus) we may notice a female deity, wearing a turreted crown, who stands in a slightly inclined pose and has her left hand resting on the left thigh and the half-raised right hand holding probably a half-opened lotus (?)[26] (Fig. 54). The iconographic similarities between her and the city deity of Pushkalāvatī, as shown on the above medal, tend to identify them with each other. "The association of Peucolaus with Pushkalāvatī is proclaimed by his name, which is simply as adjective of Peucolaïtis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis."[27] The name *Peukolaos* may also simply allude to *Peukela*=the city of Pushkalāvatī.[28]

The iconographic origin of the deity of Pushkalāvatī may perhaps be traced back to the representation of the standing (or walking) Yakshiṇī on several coins of the Agathocles[29] and Pantaleon[30]. The Yakshiṇī has, like the deity of Pushkalāvatī, the left hand resting on the left thigh (or the left arm akimbo?) and the half-raised right hand holding a lotus(?) (figs. 55 and 56). It is not impossible that the iconographic features of this Yakshiṇī influenced that of the deity of Pushkalāvatī by the time of Peucolaus or at least by the time of the date of the medal in question[31].

Whatever may have been the fact, it seems that like Kapiśa (or the modern Begram area) of the Indo-Greek period,[32] Pushkalāvatī had been associated with a deity by the date of the gold medal.

NOTES

1. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXIX, no. 15. P. L. Gupta observes that the goddess holds a mace in her right hand and a spear in her left hand (*JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, p. 70). Both these observations are inaccurate.
2. *CCGSKBI*, p. 162.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 787.
5. *Ibid.*
6. For a similar form of *ta* see *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXII, no. 8.
7. *JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, pp. 69-70.
8. It is claimed that such a form occurs on coins of Archebius. This is, however, not correct. For the forms of letters on his coins, see *CCGSKBI*, pl. IX, no. 1. Here *bi* looks like .
9. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, p. CXIV.
10. For an example we can refer to the use of the expression *apadāna* in place of *avadāna;* see also S. Konow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. CI.
11. *Bo vaḥ*, Hemachandra, *Prākṛita-vyākaraṇam*, 8, 1, 237; see also S. Konow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. VIII.
12. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 787; E. J. Rapson (editor), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I-*Ancient India*, p. 587.
13. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 787.
14. M. Wheeler, *Charsada, A Metropolis of the North-Western Frontier*, pp. 1f.
15. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 114, 11; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 189-190; etc.
16. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 787; S. Konow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. CXII.
17. *DHI*, pp. 112-113.
18. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 400.
19. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, p. 214; S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 109.
20. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 401. It may be pointed out here that the term *devī*, the feminine form of the word *deva*, denotes, *inter alia*, Durgā, the consort of Śiva (M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1951), p. 496).
21. This shows that P. L. Gupta is right in recognizing the deity as *Aṁbā*. But the premises from which he infers this are essentially wrong.
22. M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1f.
23. S. Konow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XIII.
24. E. J. Rapson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. VI, no. 10; *JAOS*, 1941, vol. LXI, pp. 232-234; J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian Period", An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India From the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, p. 378.
25. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 786.
26. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. VIII, no. 642.
27. E. J. Rapson (editor), *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 558.
28. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 244. As a parallel

example for a relation between the name of a city and that of its ruler, we can refer to Taxiles, mentioned by Q. Curtius Rufus as the name (or rather a title) of a ruler of Taxila. Again, as a case of analogy between the name of a king and that of a deity represented on his coins, we may refer to the coins of Agnimitra (of Pañchāla) showing on the reverse the figure of god Agni.

29. *CCGSKBI*, pl. IV, no. 9.
30. *CCGSKBI*, pl. III, no. 8.
31. For the representations on Scytho-Parthian coins of a female figure between vines or lotuses with stalks (?), see *NC*, 1890, pl. VI, no. 22; pl. IX, no. 1; etc.
32. Enthroned deity of Kāpiśī (Kapiśa) appears on certain coins of the Indo-Greek monarch Eucratides I as wearing a mural crown and holding a palm-branch and a wreath (*NC*, 1947, p. 30 and fig. 1).

Appendix III

THE INTEREST OF THE KUSHĀṆA EMPIRE IN INDO-ROMAN TRADE—AN ILLUSTRATION

According to the *Hou Han-shu*, Shen-tu, also called T'ien-chu, was situated on the bank of a large river and was stretched up to Kao-fu (or Kabul) on the western side, to the Western Sea (i.e. the Arabian Sea) on the south-western side and to P'an-chi on the eastern side.[1] This territory was conquered by Yen-kao-chen,[2] i.e., V'ima Kadphises, the Kushāṇa emperor and the son of Kujula Kadphises.[3]

The term *Shen-tu* can be philologically related to the word *Sindhu*,[4] which was also the name of a country to the west of the lower Indus.[5]

It appears from the *Hou Han-shu's* description of Shen-tu[6] that it also lay on the lower Indus and might have embraced some regions on the western side (and perhaps also an area on the eastern side) of that river.[7] The same territory may have been included in the region called Scythia,[8] mentioned in the *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses*[9] (better known as *Periplus Maris Erythraei*—a work of the 1st century A.D. ?).[10] It refers to the internecine struggle among the Parthian princes of Scythia.[11] It is generally assumed that these Parthian princes were successors of Gondophares I[12] and that they were ruling in the lower Indus country before the invasion of the Kushāṇas.[13] V'ima Kadphises may have annexed Shen-tu from these Parthians.[14]

The significance of Yen-kao-chen's, i.e., V'ima Kadphises', conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu is also indicated by the *Hou Han-shu*. It states that "since then (*i.e., the date of the conquest of Shen-tu*) the Yüeh-chih have been extremely rich and strong. In the various countries (*their ruler*) is always referred to as the king of Kuei-shuang; but the Han, basing themselves on the old appellation, speak about the Great Yüeh-chih"[15] (*Italics ours*).

It is clear from this statement that the annexation of Shen-tu to the empire of V'ima Kadphises was of capital importance for the growth of the Kushāṇa power.

This achievement probably ended the Parthian or the Indo-Parthian rule in the western and perhaps also in parts of the eastern division of the lower Indus country. It also appears that the motive for this conquest lay in the logic of the Kushāṇa expansion in the Indo-Parthian dominions in India. That motive, however, does not appear to have been merely political. For the Parthian or Indo-Parthian rulers of Scythia, quarrelling as they were among themselves probably almost on the eve of the invasion in question, could not possibly threaten the territorial integrity of the Kushāṇa empire. Nor could the area in question be of any great strategic value to a northern power like the Kushāṇas. Hence, if the conquest of the region resulted in the phenomenal growth of their power—as stated explicitly in the Chinese source—then the real inspiration for that achievement should have been something else.

The statement of the *Hou Han-shu* that the Yüeh-chih (the Kushāṇas) became extremely rich as a result of their conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, should imply that economic factors played a vital role in motivating them to invade that territory.

The *Periplus* alludes to brisk commercial activities in Scythia.[16] Again, in connection with the description of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, apparently of the time of the Yüeh-chih occupation, the *Hou Han-shu* indicates the existence of regular commercial relations between this region and Ta-ch'in,[17] i.e., the oriental possessions of the Roman empire.[18] No doubt, the final stage of the development of the sea-route from the West to India, leading the sailors straight to Muziris (near the mouth of the Periyar river),[19] must have been reached by A.D. 77, when the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny, referring to it,[20] was dedicated to Titus.[21] Nevertheless, the testimonies of the *Periplus* and the *Hou Han-shu*, mentioned here, clearly suggest that the discovery of the new routes did not minimise immediately the importance of the ports of the lower Indus country. In fact, the *Periplus* indicates that at least for some time three sea routes—including the one leading to Scythia and the other reaching Damirica (in South India)—were frequented *pari passu*.[22] Again, the ports of the lower Indus country were among the first important Indian trading stations for sailors from the Persian Gulf.[23]

To the merchants of North-Western India these ports provided

the quickest opportunity for the transhipment of their commodities. These trading stations were connected not only with different parts of India, but also with those of Central Asia. Hence the controllers of these places could gather immense wealth by levying taxes on commerce.

To the Kushāṇas the importance of the localities in question should have been crystal clear. The *Ch'ien Han-shu's* chapter on the western regions, which does not appear to include any information of the time of Yen-kao-chen, i.e., V'ima Kadphises,[24] refers to two roads running from China to the "western regions". The Southern one ran through *inter alia* So-chü (Yarkand), the Ts'ung-ling mountains (the Pamir region), (the lands of) the Ta Yüeh-chih, and An-hsi (Parthia). On the Northern route lay Su-lo (Kashgarh), the Ts'ung-ling mountains and (the lands of the) Ta Yüeh-chih, Ta-yüan, K'ang-chu and Yen-ts'ai.[25] Articles of Sino-Roman silk trade, which began to be brought to Rome in quantities probably from the time of the emperor Augustus (27 B.C.—A.D. 14)[26] and so from a period prior to any conceivable date for the rule of V'ima,[27] must have passed, at least in earlier phases, through either or both these routes. It is noteworthy that the *Hou Han-shu* refers to the people of Kao-fu (i.e., Kabul), who were conquered by the father of Yen-kao-chen or V'ima Kadphises, as excelling in commerce and as wealthy.[28] So the Yüeh-chih must have been aware of this trade—and might have participated in it as intermediaries—even before the reign of V'ima.

With the increasing, from the time of Augustus,[29] of the tendencies to avoid the routes through the dominions of the inimical and exacting Parthians[30] and also to use the less arduous and more economic sea route between the Roman empire and India,[31] much of this trade was diverted from Central Asia to the Indian ports.[32] In fact, the *Periplus* refers to raw silk, silk cloth and silk yarn (*serikon*) being brought from Thina (i.e., China) and through Bactria (in the Kushāṇa dominions) to Barygaza and also along the Ganges (and by sea) to Damirica.[33] The silk yarn must have been taken also to the lower Indus country. For the same work mentions silk yarn (*serikon*) and also seric skin (*serikon dermata*)—as being exported from Scythia.[34]

V'ima may have been allured by the prospects of gain from

the annexation of Shen-tu. For such a conquest would empower him to control completely at least one of the routes of the vital silk trade, lying beyond the area of the Chinese influence and extending up to the sea.[35]

Such a complete mastery would also increase the flow of international trade. For in the changed conditions the merchants would face a minimum number of tariff-posts while covering a great part of the Sino-Roman trade route. Moreover, articles of trade would move through a secure road protected by a strong central authority.

These reasons might induce the merchants to pay the maximum possible taxes, resulting in the accumulation of great wealth for the Kushāṇas.

The conquest of the lower Indus country would also enable the Kushāṇas to regulate and thereby to profit from other commercial transactions carried on through that region between Central Asia and North-Western India on the one hand and the Roman Empire and other western countries on the other.

These observations explain naturally the *Hou Han-shu*'s reference to the Kushāṇas becoming extremely rich and powerful as a result of their conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu. Economic considerations seem to have played a vital role in inducing V'ima to invade that territory. It appears that the annexation of the latter served as the key-stone for the economic structure of the Kushāṇa empire.

Thus the advent of the Kushāṇas in Shen-tu or the lower Indus country, which must have been an important political event, appears to have been motivated largely by the prospects of gain offered by its thriving Indo-Roman commerce. The dependence of the Kushāṇa prosperity on the foreign trade is further indicated by the simultaneous beginning of the decline of the empire in the reign of Vāsudeva I[36] and of the decrease of the foreign influence on the Kushāṇa coinage.[37]

NOTES

1. *HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9-10.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 192.
4. B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, nos. 869 and 645; *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pp. 1-12; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, 1966, vol. I, no. 2, p. 5; S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, p. LXVII.
5. See above n. 4.
6. *HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9-10.
7. *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pp. 1-12; S. Konow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXVI, LXVI and LXVII.
8. See above n. 7.
9. *Periplus*, sec. 38.
10. W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 7 f.; B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (*The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I), appendix II. For theories advocating a 3rd century A. D. date for the *Periplus*, see J. Pirenne, *Le Royaume Sud-Arabe de Qataban et sa Datation*, pp. 64-65; J. Pirenne, *Journal Asiatique*, 1961, vol. CCXLIX, pp. 441 f.; H. De Contenson, *ibid.*, 1960, vol. CCXLVIII, pp. 75 f; R. C. Majumdar, "The Date of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea," *IHQ*, 1962, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 89-97; etc.
11. *Periplus*, sec. 38.
12. S. Konow, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXVI, LXVI and LXVII; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, c.A.D.* 1-150 (in press), book II, ch. I and II; see also our article in *JAS*, 1967 vol., IX, pp. 1-7.
13. See above n. 12.
14. See above n. 12.
15. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
16. *Periplus*, sec. 39.
17. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9. In the *Hou Han-shu*'s description of T'ien-chu the trade between that territory and Ta-ch'in is referred to after indicating the Yüeh-chih as the reigning masters of T'ien-chu. Hence the trade in question was in existence after the Kushāṇa invasion of T'ien-chu and during their rule in that country.
18. *T'oung Pao*, 1915, s. II, vol. XVI, p. 690.
19. V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (2nd edition), p. 18.
20. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, XXVI, 100-101 and 104; E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 45-46.
21. Pliny, *op. cit.*, Preface, sec. 3. It is believed that revisions were made till the time of Pliny's death in A.D. 79 (M. Cary *et. al.*, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 704).
22. *Periplus*, sec. 57.
23. See also E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
24. The *Hou Han-shu*, which records the events of the period subsequent to that dealt with by the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, refers to V'ima Kadphises.

25. *CHS*, ch. 96A; *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 21 and 48.
26. E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 175. References to the "true" silk used for clothing, pillows, cushions and so on began to appear in Roman literature from the time of Augustus (*ibid.*). For references to the original sources, see *ibid.*, p. 366, fn. 63.
27. No current theory assigns V'ima to an age earlier than the second quarter of the 1st. century A.D.
28. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
29. E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.
30. *HHS*, ch. 118; *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s II, vol. VIII, p. 185; S. A. Cook, F. E Adcock and M. P. Charlesworth (editors), *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI, pp. 97-98 and 121 f; N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 143 f.
31. E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 34 and 50 f.
32. For an account of this trade, see *ibid.*, pp. 1 f.
33. *Periplus*, sec. 64.
34. *Ibid*, sec. 39. Even some of the products of the Parthian empire itself could have been exported to the Roman empire through Scythia (*ibid.*, *sec.* 39; W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 170). There is no reason to agree with the view of J. Kennedy that the amount of the sea-borne silk, referred to in the *Periplus*, was small (*JRAS*, 1912, pp. 986-987).
35. Even prior to his conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, V'ima probably had under him Ta-hsia and the regions immediately above it, Bactria, Kao-fu and Chi-pin.

    Ta-hsia and the regions immediately above it, to the north of the Oxus, were under the Yüeh-chih even before the rise of the Kushāṇa branch. The area covered by Koussanenon ethnos, as described in the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I, includes these territories. So they were under the Kushāṇa empire until the time of its downfall (*Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1964-65, vol. V, p. 272). Hence they were probably within V'ima's empire. The region of Bactra in Western Bactria (P'u-ta), Kabul (Kao-fu) and Chi-pin (in North-Western India) were conquered by Kujula. V'ima must have inherited them.

    Within the limits of these territories and of Shen-tu there was a silk-route, running outside the regions under the Chinese influence and up to the ocean.
36. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 247.

    Sharp decrease in the mean quantity of pure gold (*JNSI*, 1958, vol. XX, p. 170) as well as the remarkable disproportion between the waning of the average weight and of the gold content in the Kushāṇa coinage of the days of Vāsudeva I (*ibid.*) may indicate that evil days befell the empire by some time during his reign.
37. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVIII, nos. 1 f; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 790; see also *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, p. 183.

It may be noted here that the Kushāṇas initiated their gold currency under the influence, among others, of the weight standard of the Roman gold coins which had found their way to India through trade. In this connection see also B. N. Mukherjee, "The International Value of Kushāṇa Gold Coins in Relation to Imperial Roman Currency," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica,* 1961, Roma, vol. II, pp. 475-478.

Appendix IV

THE DEITY ON A SILVER BOWL IN THE OXUS TREASURE

A silver bowl (or dish?) in the famous Oxus Treasure portrays a fully dressed human figure sitting on a lion couchant to right[1] (fig. 47). Though O. M. Dalton has described it as that of a male,[2] it seems to represent a female (fig. 47).

The lady has four hands, the upper right holding a wheel, and the upper left a crescent. The lower left has a patera and the lower right a sceptre having its lower end shaped like the forepart of an animal. She wears heavy garments, earrings, a necklace and a crown (fig. 47).

As her crown betrays Sasanian influence,[3] the silver bowl may be dated to about that period.

Crescent, patera and sceptre appear on Kushāṇa coins as attributes of Nanā (Chapter II). The sceptre with an animal head alludes to the influence of Ishtar, the mistress of beasts and/or the goddess of hunting (Chapter II). The wheel may be compared with "the wheel of fortune"[4] or can be interpreted as a solar symbol. We may note that Ishtar was considered as a solar deity from a very early time.[5] The crown, earrings and necklace of the deity in question remind one of the *Zend Avesta's* description of the ornaments of Ardvi Sūra Anāhita.[6]

Thus the female figure on the silver bowl seems to represent Nanā-Anāhita-Ishtar. J. M. Rosenfield is probably not correct in comparing her cognizances with only those of Manao Bago and Nanā.[7]

The silver bowl was found in a locality of Central Asia, once included in Sogdiana[8]. Other representations of the goddess seated on lion and holding emblems of the sun and the moon have been discovered in the same region.[9] This indicates her popularity in Sogdiana.

This is not surprising. The goddess Anāhita was worshipped by ancient Iranians.[10] She, known to the Greeks as Anaïtis, was

connected, as the goddess of fertilizing waters, with the river Oxus.[11] It is well-known that Sogdiana was to the north of this river.[12] Her cult was introduced (or re-introduced ?)[13] in Bactria by the Achaemenid king Artaxerxes II Mnemon[14] (Chapter I). It is not impossible that the fusion between her concept and that of Ishtar, identified with Nanā, took place in the Achaemenid period.[15] At least, as it has already been pointed out, her worship seems to have been derived from that of Ishtar.[16]

The *Ābān Yast* describes Ardvi Sūra Anāhita as wearing "a golden crown with a hundred stars, with eight rays..."[17] A deity wearing a radiating crown (or with her head radiating) appears on some Bactrian Greek and Indo-Greek coins.[18] She may be associated with Anāhita. She has indeed been identified with Artemis-Anāhita.[19] It has been suggested that she was the patron deity of Bactra.[20]

Perhaps more interesting is the representation of a female figure on certain coins of Maues. She wears a radiate crown and holds a wheel in her left hand and a patera in her right[21] (fig. 48). In the light of the above discussion, she can be identified with Ishtar-Anāhita.

Maues was a Śaka or Scythian or Scytho-Parthian ruler of North-Western India in the 1st century B.C.[22] That the Śakas or Scythians worshipped Anāhita is indicated by her representations on Scythian objects found in the southern region of the U.S.S.R.[23] Moreover, the Śaka or Scythian or Scytho-Parthian horde, to which Maues belonged, might have originally come from Central Asia,[24] where Anāhita was known from an earlier time.[25]

These data perhaps tempt us to infer that the Bactrian Greeks and the Śakas or Scythians may have been, at least to some extent, responsible for introducing Anāhita (Ishtar-Nanā) to North-Western India.

NOTES

1. O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (3rd edition), p. 57; pl. XXXII, no. 203.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
3. See E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 38, pl. IV, no. 22a.
4. *ERE*, vol. XII, p. 455.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 699. It is interesting to note that Durgā, with whom Nanā (Ishtar-Anāhita) had been identified, was described in early mediaeval sources as having received the wheel as a weapon from Vishṇu. He was a solar god.
6. *Ābān Yast*, XXX, 127-128.
7. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 89. It may be recorded here that on a Perso-Greek cylinder in the Hermitage (Leningrad) a crowned female figure stands on a lion and holds a staff and a flower. She has been identified as Anaïtis (*Compte rendu*, 1883, p. 86). For representations of Anaïtis, holding a flower, on ancient seals and signet-rings, see O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. XXIV, 26, 27, etc. It is interesting to note that Ambā, the city-goddess of Pushkalāvatī, with whom Nanā (Anāhita-Ishtar) was ultimately identified, was also depicted on a medallion and some coins as holding a (lotus) flower. Ekānaṁśā, who may also be connected with an aspect of Durgā or Ambā, is also shown in art and described in literature as holding a lotus flower (*DHI*, pp. 502-503).
8. *East*, 1967, vol. I, pp. 176 f.
9. *Central Asian Review*, 1964, vol. XII, p. 178. A terracotta plaque showing a female as sitting on (or standing by ?) a lion and as holding a flower has been discovered at Dalversin-Tepe in Soviet Central Asia. The author has seen it in an exhibition organised on the occasion of the international conference on the history, archaeology and culture of Central Asia in the Kushāṇa period held in Dushanbe (U.S.S.R.) in September-October, 1968.
10. O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. XXVII.
11. W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. I, cols. 330-331.
12. *East*, 1967, vol. I, pp. 176 f.
13. O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. XXVII.
14. Berossos quoted in Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos*, 5, 65, 3.
15. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 115.
16. *Ibid.;* O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. XXVII; H. Gressmann, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. XX, pp. 35 f. and 323 f. Her description in the *Avesta* as a beautiful young woman wearing a crown ornamented with a hundred stars, is of a stereotyped Babylonian character. Her festival *Sacaea*, "during which a mock king held rule," might also have been derived from Babylon.
17. *Ābān Yast*, XXX, 128; J. Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta*, pt. II—*The Sīrōzahs, Yasts and Nyāyis*, *SBE*, vol. XXIII, pt. II, p. 83. It is generally believed that this description was taken from a temple image.
18. *CCGSKBI*, pl. III, no. 1; pl. XIII, no. 2; etc.

19. See M. Th. Allouche-Le Page, *L'Art Monétaire des Royaumes Bactriens*, pp. 112-113. It is suggested that probably through the intermediary of the Lydians of Sardis the Greek Artemis was identified with Anāhita (Anaïtis).
20. W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 115; see also M. Th. Allouche-Le Page, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
21. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XVI, no. 3. If the deity on the coins of Maues carries a lamp (and not a patera), this feature (*NC*, 1890, pl. V, no. 7) and the palm-branch held by Tyche (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. VII, no. 631) and Nike (*NC*, 1890, pl. VIII, no. 1) may have influenced the iconic traits of the goddess holding a lamp and a palm-branch portrayed on several coins belonging to the group of Azes I (*CCGSKBI*, pl. XX, no. 9; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XI, no. 179; pl. XIII, no. 319; etc.).
22. E. J. Rapson (editor), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I-*Ancient India*, pp. 568 and 578; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 142-148.
23. M. Rostovzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 104 and pl. XXIII, fig. 1. It is interesting to note that the name of the festival of Anaïtis, called *Sacaea*, was connected with that of the Sakai (*Strabo*, XI, 8, 5) or Śakas. However, it should be recorded that Strabo does not attribute to the Śakas the credit of instituting the festival.
24. E. J. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 563 and 568; A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 128; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, July, 1966, vol. I, no. 2, p. 5.
25. The inscription *Nanaia* and the lion of Nanā appears on a class of coins These are found in Transoxiana and may be attributed to the 1st century· B.C.

Appendix V

AN INTAGLIO SEAL FROM PESHAWAR

There is an interesting intaglio in a private collection at Peshawar in West Pakistan. It is oval in shape and measures about $1\frac{1}{16}'' \times \frac{14}{16}''$.[1]

The seal displays a four-armed helmeted male figure, seated on a throne and facing left (fig. 32). A crescent can be noticed behind his shoulders. His upper left hand holds a long staff, the lower left an uncertain object and the upper right a winged Nike carrying a wreath or a fillet. With his lower right hand he offers a diademed fillet to a kneeling male figure who has also a diademed fillet around his head and wears a costume like that of the Yüeh-chih rulers depicted on coins.[2] The kneeling figure is accompanied by an attendant at the back carrying a spear.

The idea of representing an enthroned male as holding Nike may be traced back, *inter alia*, to the Zeus Nikephores type of the Indo-Greek coins[3] and king holding Nike device of the Arsacid species.[4] The other iconographic features of the male figure in question may be compared with those of the deity called Manao Bago, appearing on the coins of the Kushāṇa emperors Kanishka I and Huvishka.[5] Manao Bago on Kushāṇa coins is depicted as a four-armed male deity. He is helmeted and enthroned. He has a crescent at his back. He carries in three of his four hands a long staff, a wreath (or callipers), and an uncertain object. The fourth hand rests on hip.[6]

This representation of Manao Bago suggests a strong iconographic similarity between it and that of the enthroned male figure on the seal in question. It seems highly probable that he is the same as the deity called Manao Bago on the Kushāṇa coins.

The diademed fillet around the head of the kneeling male figure distinguishes him as a royal personage. His high status is also indicated by the presence of an attendant at his back. And since he wears the well-known Yüeh-chih costume, it may be suggested that he should be identified with one of the Kushāṇa

rulers. Such a hypothesis is supported by several Arsacid coins representing a king as receiving a diademed fillet from some deity (Tyche, Athena, etc.).[7]

As in the case of the majority of the legends on Kushāṇa coins from the time of Kanishka I, the legend *Manao Bago* should be considered as written in the Bactrian language. It may be doubtfully translated as "God of Mind or Mental God".[8] Such an interpretation may suggest that the deity in question was the *Mānasa-devatā* of the Imperial Kushāṇa family. The occurrence of the crescent behind the shoulders of the deity connects him with the 'Moon god', Mao (or Māh), also noticed frequently on Kushāṇa coins.[9] It is also interesting to note that the term *Yüeh-chih*, denoting the race to which Kushāṇas are known to have belonged,[10] literally means "the lunar branch or family".[11] Hence it may be presumed that Manao Bago, the family deity of the Imperial Kushāṇas, was the same as Mao (or Māh) or was considered to have been connected with the latter.[12]

We do not know the name of the Kushāṇa ruler represented on the Intaglio. However, since the royal figure is seen to be receiving a fillet from the deity holding Nike, the Intaglio may perhaps commemorate a victory or a special occasion in the career of the monarch concerned.[13]

NOTES

1. Our study of the seal is based on a cast kindly made available to us by A. D. H. Bivar of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
2. *CCGSKBI*, Pl. XXVI, nos. 1f.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. VII, no. 11; pl. XIV, no. 10; etc.
4. W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, pl. XVIII, no. 17; pl. XIX, no. 3.
5. *CCGSKBI*, Pl. XXVII, no. 17; *NC*, 1892, Pl. VI, no. 7.
6. See above no. 5.
7. W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, no. 15; pl. XIX, no. 9; pl. XX, no. 1; pl. XXIII, no. 10; pl. XXVI, no. 14; pl. XXVIII, no. 14; pl. XXX, no. 2; pl. XXXI, no. 5, pl. XXXII, no. 10; pl. XXXIV, no. 2; pl. XXXV, nos. 8 and 15;. etc.
8. *Manahā Bago* (or *Manahya Bago*) > *Manao Bago* (C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 1133 and 1125; S. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenid Emperors*, p. 235; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Text Grammar Lexicon* (2nd edition), pp. 14, 82 and 198-202; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960, vol. XXIII, p. 52).
9. *CCGSKBI*, pl. XXVI, no. 9; Pl. XXVII, no. 21; etc.
10. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), pp. 459 f.
11. J. C. Quo, *Concise Chinese-English Dictionary*, pp. 20 and 224; *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, vol. CXXVIII, p. 87.
12. There are philological difficulties in tracing the origin of the name *Manao Bago* to the expression *Manah Bago* and to identify it with the name of the Avestan Vohu Manah (*Acta Orientalia*, 1960, vol. XI, p. 201). Otherwise, Vohu Mānah, described as the increaser of *kshathra* (imperium) (*Yašna*, XXXI, 4, 6, etc) and the source of the Moon god (Mah), could well have been a deity worthy of special worship by the Kushāṇas (J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 80; L. Gray, "The Foundations of the Iranian Religions," *Journal of the R. K. Kama Oriental Institute*, 1929, vol. XV, p. 83). Can we relate the expression *Manao* to the nominative singular masculine from *Manā̊* (S. N. Sokolov, *The Avestan Language*, 51)?
13. On several coins Nike is portrayed as crowning some royal personages (*CCGSKBI*, pl. XXII, no. 8; pl. XXIV, no. 7; *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 54, pl. IV, nos. 1-6). A terracotta relief (or seal) impression, discovered at Kalchayan (U.S.S.R), shows an enthroned male, clad in Yüeh-chih (?) dress, being crowned by Nike from behind (V. G. Lukonin (editor), *Catalogue of Exhibition, Culture and Art of Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, no. 240).

Appendix VI

THE HERMAPHRODITE FIGURE ON A SILVER PLATE

An interesting silver plate was found long ago in the region of ancient Lampsacus now included in North-Western Turkey. It is now preserved in the Istambul museum. It was noticed in the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1900, vol. XV, p. 203.

The silver dish is partly gilt and inlaid with gold, and partly treated in the niello-technique or enamelled.[1] It is stylistically related to the West Asiatic or Alexandrian art[2] in the Roman empire and dated to the 1st, 2nd[3] or 3rd[4] century A.D. The plate portrays a human figure facing front and sitting on a backless chair, the legs of which are made of elephant tusks. The figure wears a *śāḍī*, a part of which covers the left of the chest and the left shoulder, and is also adorned with a necklace, bangles, armlets and sandals. The figure, locks of whose hair hang down towards the shoulders, has two horns on the head.[5] The right hand of the figure is lifted in the gesture of imparting protection,[6] while the left hand holds a bow.

On each side of the chair stands a *hanumān* monkey, each distinguished by the long hind limbs and tail (in spite of the slight misrepresentation of the face).[7] There is a collar around the neck of each. Underneath the chair two keepers hold in check with ropes two animals, identifiable probably as leopards or tigers (or lionesses ?). On the right of the central figure stands a parrot, and on the left one can see a guinea-hen[8] (?) (fig. 49).

The figure has been considered as that of a lady. No doubt it has the appearance of a female. However, only one of the breasts (the right one) is depicted. There is no indication of the other one under the garment worn across the left portion of the chest and thrown over the left shoulder. It appears that the figure is half male and half female.

Most of the species represented on the dish are considered

to have been exported from India to the West in the days of trade between India and the Roman empire. The latter knew of Indian leopard, panther, monkey, parrot, etc.[9] The guinea-hen(?) is considered to be an African bird.[10] We may, however, draw attention to Ptolemy's statement that in a part of India Extra Gangem "cocks are said to be bearded".[11] It appears that the Roman Orient, to which Ptolemy and perhaps also the designer of the dish belonged, heard of cocks of India (Extra Gangem).[12] So the artist concerned might have also heard of Indian hen. But while portraying the fowl he could have been influenced by the figure of the African guinea-hen, with which he was naturally more familiar than with that of the Indian hen.

Mainly on the basis of the hypothesis of the Indian origin of these animals the central figure has been considered as representing India as a woman.[13] Such an assumption is partly supported by the evidence of personification of Rome, Egypt, Africa, etc., in the art of the Roman empire.[14] The figure in question is, however, not simply that of a woman. It is half male and half female.

Such a combination is well-known in Indian art in the form of Ardhanārīśvara—an androgynous composite representation of Śiva and his consort Durgā[15] (fig. 50). That such a hermaphrodite icon was known in the Kushāṇa age is indicated by a relief produced by the Mathurā school of the same period, which depicts, *inter alia*, a standing ithyphallic figure having one female breast with the right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left hand holding an object.[16]

The popularity of images of this type in India of the Kushāṇa times is indicated by a statement of Bardesanes (A.D. 154-c. A.D. 222),[17] quoted in the *Physica* of Johannes Stobaios. According to the latter writer, the observation of Bardesanes was based on an information supplied by the chief of an Indian embassy which came to Syria in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa[18] (emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus—A.D. 218-222).[19] Bardesanes is reported to have observed that "they (*the members of the Indian embassy*) told me further that there was a natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country, wherein there is to be seen a statue of, say, ten, or twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded crosswise—and the

right half of the face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman, and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the combination, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body"[20] (*Italics ours*). This statement undoubtedly refers, as it is now well-known,[21] to an Ardhanārīśvara image. The date of Bardesanes suggests that the Indian conception of this syncretistic cult icon became known in West Asia by the age of the Kushāṇas. And as the commercial character of the Indian embassies sent to the Roman emperors is now well-recognised,[22] it can be assumed that the Indian idea percolated into the "West" through a channel associated with commercial activities.

Hence India could well have been personified as a hermaphrodite figure on a product of an Alexandrine or West Asiatic artist of the Roman empire, which had brisk commercial transactions with Kushāṇa India.

The appearance of horns on the head of the figure, surrounded by animals, reminds one of the horned deity, surrounded by animals, seen on certain seals from Mahenjo-daro.[23] Scholars have recognised this deity as the prototype of Śiva Paśupati.[24] His cult was popular in India from a time prior to the age of the Kushāṇas.[25]

It seems that in his attempt to personify India the artist concerned was influenced by two concepts associated with Śiva, viz., Ardhanārīśvara and Paśupati. This perhaps indicates the artist's knowledge of the popularity of this deity in India, which is confirmed by the available archaeological evidence from the Kushāṇa period.[26] In fact, these two aspects of Śiva might have been combined in the Indian plastic art by the time of the Kushāṇas. A terracotta plaque from Rājghāt, stylistically datable to the Kushāṇa period, shows a hermaphrodite figure, with prominent breasts and phalus, as accompanied by an animal (bull?).[27] The Alexandrian or West Asiatic artist in question might have at least heard of such a syncretistic Indian deity. That the artist concerned had some idea of Indian iconography is also suggested by the similarity of the gesture of the right hand of the figure in question with *abhaya-mudrā*

noticeable in numerous sculptures of Kushāṇa Mathurā.[28]

The artist of Alexandria or West Asia might have been inspired by ideas communicated through a channel associated with Indo-Roman commerce. Indians and Bactrians, probably traders in profession, were present in Alexandria during the days of Kushāṇa domination in India (Chapter V). He might have imbibed the influences from, *inter alia*, some of them. If these observations are correct, the dish may be considered as a by-product of the trade contact between India and the "West".

NOTES

1. M. Rostovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd edition), vol. I, p. 132.
2. *Ibid.*; E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 143.
3. See above n. 2.
4. D. T. Rice has assigned the dish on stylistic ground to Constantinople and dates it to the early Byzantine period (*Encyclopaedia of World Art*, vol. II, col. 827). The physiognomical treatment is, however, comparable with that of some statues of early Egyptian art (*ibid.*, vol. IV, pl. 386, left), though it perhaps also betrays Roman influence. Decorated silver ware is also known from ancient Egypt (W. W. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 168, no. B). The enamelling process was known in Egypt at least from the Roman times (*Encyclopaedia of World Art*, vol. VI, col. 735). So the dish in question could have been manufactured in the Egyptian province of the Roman empire. It should be at the same time dated to an age when India was very much known to Egypt. This indicates the flourishing period of Indo-Roman commerce. The popularity of the fashion of personifying countries in art of the Roman empire about this time (see below n. 14) is alluded to by the appearances of Roma, Alexandria, Britannia, etc., on several coins minted there.
5. Do the horns rise from a turban on the head ?
6. V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 195.
7. E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
8. A. K. Coomarswamy thinks that the bird resembles a Himalayan quail (*Journal of the American Society of Oriental Art*, vol. LI, p. 181).
9. E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 f.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
11. Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 2, 23.
12. For the representations of cock in early Indian art itself, see B. N. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, pl. II, no. b; *Monthly Notice of the Asiatic Society*, December, 1965, p. 2; J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pl. XVII, no. 11; etc.
13. E. H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 143; M. Rostovzeff, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 132.
14. M. Rostovzeff, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. XVIII, no. 2; D. E. Strong, *The Classical World*, fig. 73; *The National Geographical Magazine*, February, 1957, p. 218; etc.
15. *DHI*, p. 89, 181 f; etc.
16. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937, p. 124 and pl. XLIV, no. 2; V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 182, fig. 106.
17. V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Armenie*, vol. I, pp. 57f; *JAOS*, 1945, vol. LXV, p. 75, f.n.; etc.
18. J. Stobaios, *Physica*, I, 54.
19. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 167.
20. J. Stobaios, *op. cit.*, 1, 56.

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21. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architechture*, vol. I, p. 42; J. W. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 173, f.n. 1; *DHI*, p. 89; etc.
22. P. R. Coleman-Norton (editor), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, p. 141.
23. J. Marshall, *Mahenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, vol. I, pp. 52-56 and pl. XII, no. 17; E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilisation*, seals nos. 2, 22, 235 and 420.
24. J. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-56; *DHI*, pp. 159 f., etc.
25. *DHI*, pp. 448 and 450 f.; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, pp. 396-400.
26. V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 257.
27. S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 116 and pl. XJX, no. 86. Can we discern a female breast on the left half of the chest of Oesho on a coin of Kanishka III, which also displays the figure of a bull (*PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIX, no. 231; *JNSI*, 1968, vol. XXX, pp. 195-198)?
28. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian Period", An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B. C. to the 3rd Century A. D.*, figs. 30, 31, etc. It may be of interest to note here that several images of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. found at Hatra, Palmyra, etc., in West Asia show the gesture of imparting protection (*East and West*, 1960, vol. XI, pp. 142, 143, 144, 147, 149 and 150; R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians*, p. 71, fig. 84; etc.).
We may record here that the concept of the hermaphrodite or the androgynous idea of life was known to the Greek world (H. Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, pp. 124-129). Nevertheless, in Greek and Roman art Hermaphroditos appeared as essentially a male. He was mostly depicted as an effiminate male having male genitals (*ibid.*, p. 126 and pl. IX). On the other hand, the creators of the Indian *ardhanārīśvara* figures used to lay stress on demonstrating their half male and half female character. The designer of the dish concerned seems to have followed the Indian tradition.

CATALOGUE OF THE OBJECTS ILLUSTRATED

Figure 1: A gold coin of Kaneshko (i.e., Kanishka III); shape and size—intended to be round; slightly reduced; actual size—24·685 × 23·805 mm.; weight—7·9114 gms.; obverse—king, standing to left, sacrificing at an altar with his right hand, while his left hand holds a trident; marginal legend—(I) *Shaonano Shao Kaneshko Kosho* (or *a*) *no;* reverse—Nanā Shao seated on a lion and holding a sceptre and a cornucopia; halo behind her head; her feet rest on a lotus; a symbol on her right and the Brāmī letter *va* and the Bactrian legend *Nwna Sao* on her left; date—c. 3rd century A.D.; (now in the collection of the Late Narendra Singh Singhi, Calcutta).

Figure 1 A: Same coin; size enlarged.

Figure 2: Stone statue of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka I, found at Mat near Mathurā; The sculpture, made of Mathurā sand stone, portrays the king as standing to front on a pedestal; he wears a long coat (partly covered with an over-garment), close fitting trousers and high boots fitted with straps, and carries two swords sheathed in ornamented scabbards; his head is missing; date—1st or 2nd century A.D.; (now in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā).

Figure 3: A bronze coin of the Imperial Parthian monarch Gotarzes II; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size—·45″ × ·5; obverse—king standing to his right and sacrificing at an altar with his right hand; date-c. A.D. 38-51; (now in the British Museum, London).

Figure 4: A gold coin of the Kushāṇa monarch Vāsudeva I; shape and size—intended to be round; same size; obverse—king standing to his right sacrificing at an altar with his right hand, while his left hand holds a trident; marginal

legend—(vii) *Shaonano Shao Bazodeo Koshano*; date—2nd or 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 5: A mutilated stone sculpture from Gandhāra showing a female armed with a sword tied to her waist; date—1st—2nd century A.D. ?

Figure 6: A stone sculpture showing a seated female figure, fully robed and wearing a wreath on her head (?), ear-rings, necklaces, bangles and anklets, as holding a bowl in her right hand and an indistinct object in her left hand, and as being attended by two squatting lionesses (or dogs ?) looking at her; (now in the Punjab Museum, Lahore ?).

Figure 7: An Assyrian seal displaying two representations of a certain theme. It shows a human figure standing in adoration before a statue of Ishtar, wearing the full panoply of a war goddess and standing on a lion (or a leopard). "Her star, the planet Venus, is fixed to her crown." A flowering palm tree and an ibex are seen behind her. These recall "her immemorial connection with the life of nature". Date—Late Assyrian period, although the seal betrays the survival of stylistic features of the Early Dynastic period like the crossing of animals and the use of a continuous friege represented by a design (see H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 105).

Figure 8: A silver coin of the Scythian or Yüeh-chih ruler Sapadbizes; shape and size—intended to be round; same size; obverse-head of the ruler to right; border of dots; legend-*Sapadbizes*; reverse—lion standing to right; a crescent and another object are depicted above it; the legend *Nanaia* are inscribed in front and behind the animal; date—1st century B.C.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 8A: Same coin as illustrated in figure 8; size—enlarged.

Figure 9: An oval-shaped jacinth seal; size—enlarged; actual size–2/3″ × 3/4″ (approximately). A female deity (Nanā)

is shown as seated to front on a lion couchant to right; she holds a staff with animal protome in her right hand and a bowl or patera in her left hand; marginal legend—(ix) *Phreikhoadeo* (see above p. 23; for a good reproduction of the seal, see *NC*, 1892, pl. XII, no. 18); date—1st, 2nd, or 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum ?).

Figure 10: A gold coin of Huvishka; shape and size—intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size—·80″ × ·75″; weight—122 grains; reverse—a female deity (Nanā), seated on a lion walking (?) to right, holding a sceptre with animal protome by her right arm and a part of his hand, which also holds a patera or a bowl; her left hand is half-raised; she has a nimbus behind and a crescent above her head; a four-pronged symbol appears on her right; border of dots; legend—(I) *Nano;* date—2nd or 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 10A: Same coin as illustrated in figure 10; size–much enlarged.

Figure 11: A gold coin of Kanishka I; shape and size—round; same size (·75″); weight—122·2 grains; reverse—a female deity (Nanā), nimbate and diademed, stands to right with her head surmounted by a crescent; she has a sword tied to her waist and holds in her left hand a patera and clasps by her right hand a sceptre ending with the forepart of an animal; a four-pronged symbol appears on right; border of dots; legend—(VII) *Nanashao*; date—1st or 2nd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 12: A bronze coin of the Indo-Greek King Artemidoros; shape and size—nearly square; same size (·8″ × ·75″) (approximately); obverse–a female deity (Artemis) stands facing to front; holds a bow in her left hand and draws with her right hand an arrow from the quiver at her back; legend—*Basileos* (*Aniketou*) (*Arte*)*midorou;* date—1st century B.C. (?); (now in the British Museum).

Figure 13: A gold coin of Huvishka; shape and size—round; enlarged; actual size—·75″; weight—121 grains; reverse—a female deity (Nanā), nimbate and diademed, stands to left; holds a bow in her left hand and draws with her right hand an arrow from a quiver at her back; a four-pronged symbol appears on right; on the left occurs the legend *Nano;* date—2nd or 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 14: A silver coin of the Arsacid king Volagases I; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size—1″ ×·8″ (approximately); weight—212 grains; reverse—the enthroned king, sitting to left, receives diadem from Tyche of the city who stands facing him; the king wears a helmet, a sword, loose trousers, and a tunic; Tyche wears a chiton, a peplos, and a turreted head-dress, and holds in her hand a diadem and in her left hand a sceptre; legend—(*Basileos*) *Basileon Olagaso Epiphan*(*ous*) (*Phil*)*ellanos;* date—*Φ T*=390, i.e., A.D. 79/80; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 15: A copper coin of the Scytho-Parthian ruler Azes (I or II); shape and size—as shown in the reproduction; obverse—a female figure stands to front on a lotus in a slightly inclined pose, holding the stalk of a lotus in her half-raised right hand and having her left hand resting on her left thigh; one monogram appears on her right and one on her left; marginal legend in Greek—(VII) *Basi* (*leos*) (*Basileon*) (*Mega*)*lou;* in exergue—*Azou;* reverse—a bull standing to right; marginal Kharoshṭhī inscription—(II) *Rajatirajasa Mahatasa;* in exergue—(*Aya*)*sa;* Date—1st century B.C. or A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 16: A copper coin of Azes (I or II); shape and size—as shown in the reproduction; obverse—the delineation of a female figure and the intended inscription are the same as those on the obverse of the preceding coin; the forepart of a lion appears on her left, while a monogram can be noticed on her right; reverse—a bull stands to right; a monogram appears in front of it; marginal inscription in Kharoshṭhī—(v) *Maharajasa*. . . (*Mahata*)*sa;* in exergue—

Ayasa; date—1st century B.C. or A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 17: A gold medal or token. For a detailed description see above p. 71.

Figure 18: A gold coin of Huvishka; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size–·5″×·48″; weight—30 grains; reverse—a four-armed male figure (Oesho) stands to left facing a female figure (Nanā), who stands to right. Oesho, nimbate, holds a deer in his lower left hand and a trident in his upper left, while his upper right hand holds a drum and the lower right a vessel; Nanā, diademed, holds a flower (lotus) in her right hand; a four-pronged symbol appears between the figures; border of dots; legend on left—*Nana*, on right—*Oesho;* date—2nd or 3rd century A.D. ; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 19: A positive impression of an intaglio seal of pink semi-precious stone; shape and size—oval; enlarged; actual size—·45″×·60″ (approximately); the seal impression shows a female figure as standing to front and facing to her right; she wears chiton and *polos* and diademed head-dresses; the stalks of two lotuses are held by her right hand, while her left hand holds a cornucopia; to be dated to c. 2nd century A.D. or to a still earlier period; (now in the collection of Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Calcutta).

Figure 20: A gold coin of Huvishka; shape and size—intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size—·75″×·74″ (?); weight—123 grains; reverse—the depiction of the deity and their attributes are same as those on the coin numbered as figure 18; legends–on right *Oesho*, on left *Ommo;* date—2nd or 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 21: A statuette in the round made of pot-stone found at Sirkap (Taxila); height—4·62″; it represents an enthroned female deity (Demeter or Tyche) wearing a long tunic, a mantle and a *polos* ; her left hand holds a

cornucopia, while her right hand, held almost in the manner of showing the gesture of protection, is wrapped in her clothes; date—1st century A.D.; (now in the Taxila Museum).

Figure 22: A fragment of a panel of sculpture found in the Swat valley (numbered by G. Gnoli as 7350); the remaining portion shows the upper part of a female figure, wearing chiton (?), ear-rings, a necklace, a tiara, a wreath (on her head) (?) and a turreted crown, by the left side of the upper portion of a male figure, wearing a necklace (?) and a turban.

Figure 23: A silver double decadrachm of the Indo-Greek ruler Amyntus, found near Qunduz in the province of Kataghan in Afghanistan; shape and size—nearly round; same size (1·78″ × 1·75″); weight—84·76 gms.; reverse—an enthroned goddess (Tyche) sitting half left, wearing a long tunic and a *polos* ; her left hand holds a cornucopia, while her right hand is extended with one finger pointing at a certain direction; a monogram in the lower left field; Greek legend–(VII) *Basileos Niketoros*; in exergue-*Amyntou;* date—c. 1st century B.C.; (now in the Kabul Museum).

Figure 24: A panel on a stone pillar found at Bilsad, U.P.; it shows a female, wearing anklets, a necklace, etc., sitting on an animal (lion ?) couchant to right; her left hand holds the stalk of a lotus, while her right hand seems to be resting on the back of the animal; two standing elephants, one in the left and one in the right side of the upper part of the panel, are seen as performing lusture on her; the panel is bound by a stone frame; date—can be attributed to the Gupta age.

Figure 25: A gold coin of Kanishka III; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size—·85″ × ·83″; reverse—a goddess (Ardokhsho), nimbate and wearing a long robe, a necklace and ear-rings, is seen seated (facing to front) on a throne with a high back; her left hand and arm hold

a cornucopia and her right hand carries a fillet; her feet rest on a lotus; a symbol in the upper left field; legend on right in the cursive Greek script—*Ardokhsho;* border of dots; date—c. 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 26: A gold coin of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta I; shape and size—intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size—·85″×·80″; weight—110·7 grains; reverse—a female deity, nimbate and wearing a long loose robe, seated (facing to front) on a lion couchant to right; her left hand and arm hold a cornucopia, while her right hand holds a fillet; her feet rest on a lotus; behind her we may notice traces of the high back of a throne; a symbol appears in the upper left field; border of dots; legend in the Brāhmī script on right-*Lichchhavayaḥ;* date–first half of the 4th century A.D.; (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Figure 27: A gold coin of the Gupta monarch Samudragupta; shape and size—intended to be round, slightly enlarged; actual size—·75″×·70″; weight—116 grains; reverse—same as on no. 25; legend on right—(*Śri*) *Parākramaḥ;* date—4th century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 28: A gold coin of Chandragupta I; shape and size—intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size—·80″ ×·75″; reverse—same as on no. 26; but the lion is couchant to left and there is no trace of the back of the throne; legend—*Lichchhavayaḥ;* date—first half of the 4th century A.D.; (now in the Hermitage, Leningrad).

Figure 29: A gold coin of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size—·8″×·75″; weight—122 grains; reverse—a female deity, nimbate and wearing a loose robe, ear-rings, etc., sits in *lalitāsana* (or in a cross-legged posture ?) on a lion walking to right; her half-raised left hand holds the stalk of a lotus and her extended right hand holds a diademed fillet; traces of a symbol in the upper left field; Brāhmī legend

on right—*Siṅhavikramaḥ;* border of dots; date—c. A.D. 376-412/13; (now in the State Museum, Lucknow).

Figure 30: A gold coin of Chandragupta II; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size—·80″×·75″; weight—121 grains; reverse—same as in the figure no. 29, but the animal is couchant to left and the goddess is sitting definitely in *Lalitāsana;* Brāhmī legend—(*Si*)*ṅhavikrama*(*ḥ*)*;* date—c. A.D. 376—412/13; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 31: A gold coin of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I; shape and size—intended to be round; enlarged; actual size—·8″×·75″; reverse—same as in the figure no. 30, but the animal is couchant to right; Brāhmī legend on right—(*Si*)*ṅhamahendraḥ;* date—c. A.D. 415/16—455/56; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 32: The positive impression of a seal matrix from Peshawar; size—enlarged; for a detailed description, see above p. 95.

Figure 33: The positive impression of a sardonyx seal; shape and size—oval; slightly reduced; actual size—·75″×·9″; the seal portrays a male figure, wearing a long tunic, trousers and a winged (?) head-dress, as standing to front, facing to his left, and staring at a female figure standing to her half-right and looking at him; he holds a sceptre in the right hand and a patera with sprouting corn in the half-raised left hand; The female figure wears a *polos* and two pieces of garment, and holds a part of the lower garment and a cornucopia in her left hand; her right hand is half-raised (touching the patera ?); a crescent is seen above their heads; a child, standing on the right of the male with upraised hand stares at him; legend in the Greek script on the left of the female—*Kharoballago;* date—c. 1st or 2nd century A.D. (?); (now in the British Museum) (see also above p. 27).

Figure 34: A gold coin of Huvishka; shape and size—intended

to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size—·45″ × ·5″, weight —30 grains; reverse—an enthroned male deity (Sarapes), seated to front and wearing a long robe and a modius on his head; he holds a sceptre in his left hand and a fillet in his right hand; a four-pronged symbol on left; border of dots; inscription in the Greek script on right—*Sarapo;* date—2nd or 3rd century A.D.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 35: A copper coin of the Hūṇas (?) (see in this connection 1894, p. 282); shape and size—intended to be round; same size (approximately); obverse—a male deity (*Śiva*) (or a deified king ?), wearing a long coat and trousers (?) and a crown (?), is sitting to front on a throne with a high back; he holds a trident in his left hand and a drum in his right hand; traces of Brāhmī legend; reverse—a female deity, wearing a loose garment, sits (facing to front) on a lion standing to right; she holds a cornucopia in her left hand and an uncertain object (fillet ?) in her right hand; date—to be attributed to a post-Kushāṇa (or rather a post-Gupta ?) period; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 36: A copper coin of Huvishka (?); shape and size—intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size—·98″ × 1″; weight—260 grains; reverse—a male figure (Huvishka), fully dressed and wearing a diademed fillet, is kneeling with joined hands before a goddess (Nanā) standing to right; she wears a long loose garment and ear-rings and has a nimbus behind her head; she holds in her right hand a sceptre topped with the forepart of an animal; a four-pronged symbol, as can be seen on several coins of Huvishka, appears behind her; border of dots; behind the female deity a legend in the Greek script—*Nana;* uncertain inscription above the head of the male figure; date—2nd or 3rd century A.D. (?); (now in the British Museum).

Figure 37: A stone sculpture, belonging to the Gandhāra school, found at Skārah Ḍherī in the Peshawar district, West Pakistan; the sculpture shows a female figure (Hārītī) standing to front and wearing a loose over-garment, an upper garment,

a wreath on head, ear-rings, necklaces, bangles and anklets; her right hand carries a purse, while her left hand holds a child, who sucks at her left breast; one child sits on her left and one on her right shoulder; an inscription in the Kharoshṭhī script is engraved on the stele to the left of the lower half of her body; the epigraph, dated in the year 399 (of the Old Śaka Era ?), asks for the protection of the children; date—3rd century A.D.; (now in the Lahore Museum).

Figure 38: The positive impression of an agate seal; shape and size—oval; enlarged; actual size—·5″ × ·75″; the seal shows a female figure, wearing two pieces of garment and a modius, standing to her half-right and looking at a child; she holds a cornucopia in her left hand and extends her half-raised right hand towards a child, who stands with half-raised hands and stares at her; a legend in the Greek script on her left-*Shoogao*; date—1st or 2nd century A. D. (?); (now in the British Museum?).

Figure 39: A statue made of yellowish brown lime stone, found at Hatra in Northern Iraq; height–about 1 metre; the sculpture shows a woman (Nanā), facing to front, standing on a round pedestal; she wears a long robe reaching her feet and has something like a twisted cloth around her waist; she is adorned with a wreath on her head (?) and a necklace; her right hand is akimbo, while the left hand holds a sceptre; her face is partly restored with plaster; date—1st or 2nd century A.D.; (now in the Mosul Museum, Iraq).

Figure 40: A stone sculpture in the round, belonging to the Gandhāra school, found at Begram III; height—18·5 cm., breadth—9·5 cm., depth—6·5 cm.; The sculpture portrays a female deity (Ardokhsho), sitting to front on a throne; she wears a loose robe reaching her feet, which rest on a stool; she holds a cornucopia in her left hand, while her right hand is half raised; date—3rd century A.D. (?).

Figure 41: A terracotta plaque, made of white clay besmeared with mica, found in an excavation at Nagar, Rājasthān;

height—8″; width—4″ (approximately); the plaque displays a female figure (Durgā) standing, facing to front; she wears a lower garment (made of leaves ?), anklets, bangles, necklaces, ear-rings and ornaments on her head; her left hand pulls out the tongue of a buffalo, which stands to right before her on its two hind legs, the fore-legs being much above the ground as a result of the action of the female figure; her right hand is placed on the back of the animal; a lion sits to right in the lower right portion of the terracotta; an ornamented trident (or a thunderbolt ?) and a drum (?) can be noticed respectively on the right and left of the head of the deity; date—may be dated to the Kushāṇa (or the Gupta) age (see above p. 29, n. 123); (now in the Archaeological Museum, Amer (near Jaipur), Rājasthān).

Figure 42: Fragment of a stone sculpture found at Mat near Mathurā; height—1′-1·1/2″; the remaining portion of the sculpture shows the lower part of a female, standing to front; she wears a diaphanous drapery; she stands against a lion couchant to left; date—may be attributed to the Kushāṇa period (see above p. 19); (now in the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā).

Figure 43: A statuette made of red sandstone, belonging to the Mathurā school of sculpture; for a detailed description, see above pp. 19-20.

Figure 44: A stone sculpture from Bihar; it shows a four-armed female deity (Durgā) sitting astride on the back of a lion walking (?) to right; the goddess wears semi-transparent drapery, anklets, bangles, armlets, necklaces and ear-rings and has ornaments on her head; her upper left hand carries a shield, and upper right a sword, while the lower left holds a trident and the lower right is in *varada* pose; two flying *vidyādharas* can be noticed in the upper section of sparsely decorated elliptical *prabhāvalī;* date—early mediaeval period; (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta).

Figure 45: A relief panel in a niche on the right wall of the

verandah (interior) of the Durgā temple at Aihole; it displays an eight-armed goddess (Durgā) standing, facing to front; she wears a diaphanous drapery, anklets, bangles, armlets, necklaces, a garland, ear-rings and a crown and has a nimbus behind her head; the lower three of her left hands are mutilated, while the other one and the right hands hold different attributes; she is seen as piercing the upturned neck of a half-sitting buffalo with the help of a spear (?) held in the top right hand; a lion stands on her right, looking at the buffalo; date–Early Western Chalukya period.

Figure 46: A relief on the wall of the Mahisha (or Yamapurī) Maṇḍapa, Mahāvalipuram, Tāmil Nāḍu; the panel shows an eight-armed goddess (Durgā), carrying a sword, an arrow, a bow, etc., as riding on a lion walking to right, and combating with the buffalo-demon (Mahishāsura), standing in an inclined pose and holding a mace; the goddess as well as the demon is being attended by a figure holding an umbrella over his or her head; other warriors of both the sides are also seen in the panel; date–c. 7th century A.D.

Figure 47: A silver dish or bowl found in an area once included in ancient Sogdiana; it formed a part of the famous Oxus Treasure; diameter–5·02″, height-1·7″; the outer area of the inside of the bowl is plain; at the bottom is a four-armed female deity (Nanā-Anāhita–Ishtar) within a wreath, "hammered up in relief from the back"; for a description of the deity see above p. 39. It may be added here that the goddess seems to wear leather boots up to the ankles and has a waist belt. The first characteristic alludes to the Avestan description of Anāhita as "dressed with shoes". The second feature reminds one of the Avestan statement that she girded her waist tightly so that her breasts might be well-shaped, that they might be tightly pressed. A Pahlavi inscription may be noticed around the silver bowl and immediately below the rim. The bowl may be dated to Sasanian period. It is now in the British Museum.

Figure 48: A copper coin of the Indo-Scythian king Maues;

shape and size–intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size–1·1″×1″; reverse–a female, wearing a long and loose drapery reaching her feet and a scarf around her shoulders and arms, stands to front; she has a radiate (turreted ?) crown on her head; her left hand holds a wheel, which rests on ground, while her extended right hand carries a patera; Kharoshṭhī letters *da* and *mi* in the lower left field; marginal Kharoshṭhī inscription-(IV) *Rajatirajasa Mahatasa;* in exergue-*Moasa;* date–c. 1st century B.C.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 49: A silver plate or dish found at Lampsacus, Turkey; it portrays a sitting hermaphrodite figure and some animals and two attendants within a circular border; for a full discussion on the hermaphrodite figure and the date of the plate see above pp. 101-104; (the plate is now in the Istambul Museum).

Figure 50: A stone sculpture from Dārāsuram (?); only the upper portion of the standing figure is reproduced in figure 50. This part shows three heads, wearing ornaments and crowns, and having a big halo behind them; the three faces may represent *Ugra, Saumya* and *Umā* aspects of the composite deity (*DHI*, p. 554); only the left breast of the deity is developed like that of a female; the half male and half female character identifies the deity as Ardhanārīśvara; date–mediaeval period.

Figure 51: A copper coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Philoxenus; shape and size–nearly square; same size (·75″×·8″); obverse–a female deity standing to front in a slightly inclined position and facing left; she wears a long robe, reaching her feet and a *polos* ; her left hand holds a cornucopia, while her half-raised right hand holds the stalk of a half-opened lotus (?); a monogram in the lower left field; Greek legend *Basileos Aniketou Philoxenou;* reverse—a bull stands to right; the Kharoshṭhī letter *va* in the lower field below the feet of the bull; Kharoshṭhī inscription–*Maharajasa*

Apaḍihatasa Philasinasa; date–2nd or 1st century B.C.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 52: A stone sculpture originally found at Rāmpāl in the Dacca district and then placed in a shrine at Dālbazar in the town of Dacca, East Pakistan; the sculpture shows a four-armed female deity, standing to front, in *sampadasthānaka* pose, in a niche or inside a temple; the deity wears a lower garment (and a transparent upper garment), a scarf (or a garland), girdles, bangles, armlets, necklaces, ear-rings and a crown; her upper left hand holds the stalk of a lotus, and the lower left carries a water-pot, while her upper right hand clutches a weapon and the lower right is in *varada* pose; two female attendants, each carrying a flywhisk, stands on her left and right; above her, on the two sides of the upper portion of the niche or temple, two elephants standing face to face hold two upturned pitchers by their upraised trunks; they appear to perform lusture on her; the remaining portion of the stele is richly carved; on the pedestal we can see a lion sitting to left and facing to front; a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal, dated in the year 3 of Lakshmaṇasena, refers to the icon as that of Chaṇḍī (but see above p. 19); (now in the Dacca Museum).

Figure 53: A gold coin of the Kushāṇa emperor V'ima Kadphises; shape and size-intended to be round; slightly enlarged; actual size–1″×1·2″ (?); weight–270 grains; obverse–king standing to his right (or standing to front and facing to his right ?), wearing a helmet, a diademed fillet with flowing ends, a long heavy coat reaching below his knees, long trousers and heavy boots; offering with his right hand something over a small altar placed in the lower right field; his left hand rests on the tummy; on left a trident fitted with a battle axe and on right a mace can be noticed; a four-pronged monogram in the upper right field; circular Greek legend—(I) *Basileus Basileon (Soter Megas Ooemo Ka)dphises;* date–1st century A.D.; (now in the Punjab Museum, Lahore).

Figure 54: A copper coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Peukelaos;

shape and size–nearly rectangular; same size (·7″×·8″); reverse—a female figure (deity of Pushkarāvatī) standing to front in a slightly inclined pose and facing to her right; she wears a long robe and a turreted crown; her left hand rests on her left thigh, while her half-raised right hand holds the stalk of a half-opened lotus (?); a monogram in the lower left field; on the left the Kharoṣhṭhī inscription–*Peükulaäsa*; date–1st century B.C.

Figure 55: A copper coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles, shape and size–rectangular; slightly enlarged; actual size–1·02″×·8″; obverse–a female figure (*yakshiṇī*), standing (or walking ?) to front, wearing a long drapery and trousers (?); her left hand rests on her left thigh (or her left arm akimbo ?), while her half-raised right hand holds the stalk of a lotus (?); Brāhmī inscriptions–on right–*Rajine*, on left-*Agathuklayasa;* date–2nd century B.C.; (now in the British Museum).

Figure 56: A copper coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Pantaleon; shape and size–rectangular (or nearly square?); same size; obverse–a female figure (*yakshiṇī*), clad in long drapery and trousers (?), standing (or walking) to front; her left hand rests on her left thigh (or her left arm akimbo ?), while her half-raised right hand holds the stalk of a lotus (?); Brāhmī inscriptions–on right–*Rajine*, on left–*Paṁtalevasa;* date–2nd century B.C.; (now in the British Museum).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ancient Coins	Imhoof-Blumer, F., and Gardner, P., *Ancient Coins, Illustrated Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (edited by Al. N. Oikonomides), Chicago, 1964.
ASI, AR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, Calcutta and Delhi.
CCGSKBI	Gardner, P., *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, London, 1886.
CCIM	Smith, V.A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, Oxford, 1906.
CHS	Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han-shu* (T'ung-wen shu-chü edition).
DHI	Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd edition), Calcutta, 1956.
ERE	Hastings, J. (editor), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols (and Index) (3rd impression), New York, 1955.
HHS	Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pie-yao edition).
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven (Connecticut).
JAS	*The Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
JNSI	*The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, Bombay and Varanasi.
JRAS	*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
JUPHS	*The Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
NC	*The Numismatic Chronicle (and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society)*, London.

NS — *Numismatic Supplement* (of the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*), Calcutta.

Oxford Classical Dictionary — Cary, M. *et al.*, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (reprint), Oxford, 1961.

Strabo — Strabo, *Geographikon* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 8 vols. (reprint), London and Cambridge, Mass., 1959-1961).

Periplus — *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* [Frisk, H. (editor), *Le Périple de la Mar Êrythrée*, Göteborg, 1927].

PMC — Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I–*The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1914.

Polybius — Polybius, *Universal History* (Loeb Classical Library edition).

Taxila — Marshall, *J.*, *Taxila, An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila Under the Order of the Government of India Between the Years 1913 and 1934*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951.

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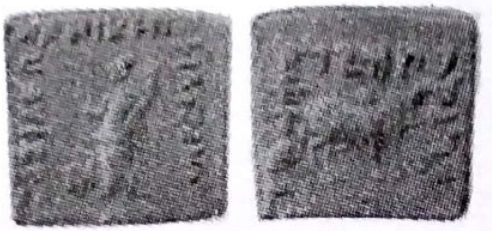

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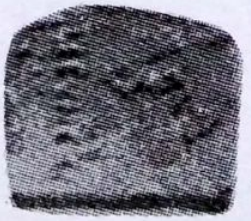

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